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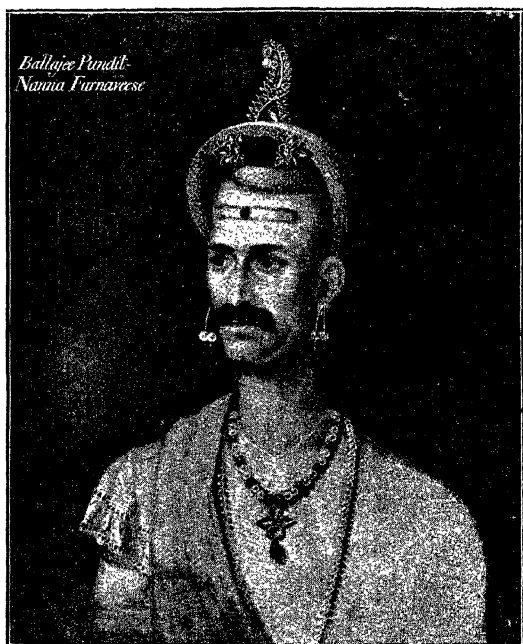


# MEMOIR OF NANA FARNAVIS

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NANA FARNAVIS

Memoir of the Life of the late

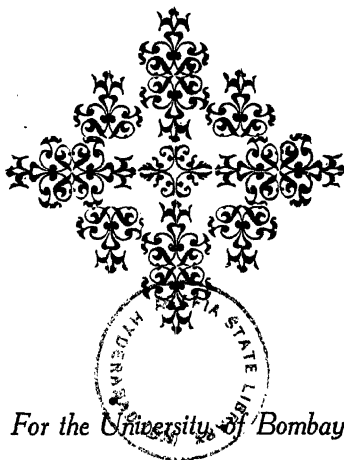
# NANA FARNAVIS

Compiled from Family Records and Extant Works by

A. MACDONALD

Captain in the 18th Regiment, Bombay Native Infantry,

and now Reprinted from the Original Edition  
of 1851: Together with AN AUTO-  
BIOGRAPHICAL MEMOIR OF THE  
EARLY LIFE OF NANA FARNAVIS,  
translated by LIEUT.-COL. JOHN BRIGGS,  
late Resident at the Court of Satara. With an  
Introduction by H. G. Rawlinson, M.A., I.E.S.



*For the University of Bombay*

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## INTRODUCTION

LITTLE is known of the author of this interesting work, which, he tells us, was undertaken at the request of Captain S. V. Hart, who suggested that it would 'prove of considerable interest to all interested in Indian History, and, if translated into the vernacular of the country, would be eagerly read by the Marathas, who look upon Nana Farnavis, and not without reason, as the last and greatest statesman of their race.' He used in its compilation, 'original MSS., family records, and verbose conversations with the relations and personal attendants of Nana Farnavis.' He also visited the widow of Nana Farnavis at her famous country seat at Manaoli, where she received numerous European visitors, including Sir Arthur Wellesley and Lord Valentia. This work, like Grant Duff's great classic, is, therefore, based on material which is partly no longer extant. The author apologises for the imperfections of his style. The book was, he tells us, written 'in the leisure hours of a soldier,' and principally for translation. It is a straightforward soldierly account, written by one who knew the language intimately, and had access to original documents and State papers. Only 250 copies of the original edition were published, and it is now very rare indeed. It is still the only life in English of the greatest of the Maratha statesmen. In this reprint, the spelling of proper names has been modernized and several obvious misprints have been corrected.

The autobiography of Nana Farnavis, which is printed in the same volume, was originally translated by Lieut.-Col. John Briggs, a well-known Marathi and Persian scholar, who succeeded Grant Duff at Satara (1823-26), opened up the hill-station of Mahableshwar, and translated Ferishta's *Rise of the Muhammadan Power* and *Sujar ul Mulakkutin* into English. The translation appeared in the *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1827, Vol. II, Part I, alongside with an article on the 'Secret Correspondence of the Court of the Peshwa Madhavrao from 1761 to 1772.' The translation is a free, but not inaccurate one: it may be checked by reference to the original, which was published by Mr. V. B. Dixit in the *Kavetihasa Sangraha*, Saka 1800 (A.D. 1878).

Poona, 1927.

H. G. RAWLINSON.



## MEMOIR OF THE LIFE OF BALAJI JAN- ARDAN BHANU, OTHERWISE KNOWN AS NANA FADNIS OR NANA FARNAVIS

THE subject of the present memoir first saw the light on Friday, the 4th day of May, A.D. 1741, equivalent in the Hindu Era to the month Jesht, Shaka 1663. He was born in the city of Satara. His father Janardan Balhal Bhanu, at this period, held the hereditary office of Farnavis (Deputy Auditor and Accountant) under Balaji Bajirao Peshwa. His mother's name was Rakhmabai, of the Mehendale family, an ancient and respectable race. Little is known of the early life of Janardan Bhanu, and as the family records give no account of him up to his tenth year, we may reasonably conclude that there was nothing worthy of especial remark. At the age of ten years he was married at Poona to Yeshodabai,<sup>1</sup> the daughter of a respectable merchant by name Sadashiv Ragunath Gadre. At the early age of twelve years he evinced a strong inclination towards the female sex, which increased with his years. At fourteen years of age he nearly met with his death from a fall from his horse, and was only recovered with the greatest difficulty. He had just reached his fifteenth year, when his father died, and, having performed the usual funeral ceremonies, he was invested with his father's office, and in this narrative will hereafter be known by the name of Nana Farnavis.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Edwardah Bye (*sic*) in the original.

<sup>2</sup> Nana was what might be called his nickname; among the Marathas a man is seldom known by any other, his proper name being seldom used in any but formal documents.

The Peshwa, Balaji Bajirao, had conceived a great affection for him, and shortly after his father's death persuaded him to accompany him on a journey to Seringapatam. On his return from this expedition he consummated his marriage, and the result was a son, which, however, only survived its birth a few months. With the exception of his quick passion for the female sex, which he could not control in any way, he is represented as bearing a character for justness and uprightness. His health having at length become impaired, he repaired to the banks of the Godavery to perform some religious ceremonies, which seem to have affected him to such a degree as caused him to resolve to repair to the sacred Ganges with his friend. Sadashivrao Bhao, owing to the reverses met by the Maratha army at the hands of the Afghans, had obtained permission of his master, the Peshwa, to take the field once more, and attempt to drive the invaders back again across the Attock. During the course of their journey they arrived at a famous pool in the Jumna river called Kalia Doha,<sup>1</sup> or Pool of Serpents ;

A Farnavis is the head civil officer—a term almost synonymous with that of minister of finance—who receives the accounts of the renters and collectors of revenue. The word is a compound of *fad navis*, or the writer of sheets, i.e. by implication official documents. It is not only his duty to exhibit schedules of the actual revenue, and to form estimates, of probable receipts and expenditure, but also to inspect all accounts of public disbursements of every description, which he regulates, and upon which he is a check ; it is his duty to prepare in his office all sanads or grants of jaghirs, inam lands, and commissions of officers appointed to any public situation.

<sup>1</sup> Thalia Dohup in the original. Kālīa was the water demon killed by Krishna.

close to this pool is an enormous tree, called Kalamba,<sup>1</sup> the branches of which completely cover the pool; in the Hindu mythology it is related that Krishna, the eighth incarnation of Vishnu, was in the habit of concealing himself in the tree and seizing hold of the milk-women who came to bathe, strip them, and hide himself again in the tree where they could not reach him.

The natural temper of the Bhao Sahib was exceedingly violent, and at this time his pride was much augmented owing to his great success in former campaigns. A spirit of military enthusiasm, so dangerous in a general without experience, took complete possession of his mind. Success had inspired him with a blind confidence, which salutary reverses in a humbler sphere would, in all probability, have amended. But it is unfortunate that such lessons cannot always reach individuals in high command, until the interests of their country and the lives of thousands have been sacrificed to the effects of arrogance and indiscretion.

The Deccan army, prepared to accompany Sadashiv Bhao, amounted to about twenty thousand chosen horse, besides ten thousand artillery and disciplined infantry under the command of Ibrahim Khan Gardi.

The equipment of this army was far more splendid in appearance than any Maratha force that had ever before taken the field; the camp equipage which had been taken during the former campaign was employed as a part of the decorations on this occasion; the lofty and spacious tents, lined with silk and broad-

<sup>1</sup> Thulum in the original. Kalamba, or Kadamba, *Cadambanuclea*.



cloths, were surmounted by large gilded ornaments conspicuous from a long distance; immense purple coloured walls of canvas enclosed each suite of tents belonging to the principal officers; vast numbers of elephants, flags of all descriptions, the finest horse magnificently caparisoned, and all those accompaniments of an Indian army, which give such an imposing effect to its appearance, seemed to have been collected from all quarters in the Bhao's camp. Cloth of gold was the dress of the officers; and all seemed to vie in that profuse and gorgeous display, characteristic of wealth lightly acquired. It was in this instance an imitation of the more becoming and tasteful array of the Moghuls in the zenith of their power and glory.

The principal officers with the Bhao's divisions were Balvantrao Ganpat Mehendale, Sham Bahadur, Naru Shankar (Raja Bahadur), V. Shivdeo (Vinchurkar), Trimbak Sadashiv Purandare with many other chiefs, or connections of old Maratha families, who are now but secondary personages in the Deccan, owing to the power of the Peshwas, and the consequent ascendancy of the Brahmins. A large army remained with Balaji Bajirao, but orders were dispatched to all the Maratha commanders, to join the standard of Sadashivrao Bhao as he advanced toward the Moghul capital. Accordingly before he crossed the Chambal, Malharrao Holkar, Jankoji Shinde, Dammaji Gaikwar, Jeswantrao Powar, Appa Athavale, Antaji Mankesvar, Govindpant Bundhara and many others of less note, had joined with their troops; most of the Rajput chieftains sent part of their horse; vast numbers of Pindaris, and irregulars of all descriptions flocked to the increasing

and Suraj Mal, Raja of Bharatpur, through the agency of Holkar, was induced to meet the army with thirty thousand men.

The experienced Jath, however, soon perceived that the unwieldy assemblage, clogged with a cumbersome artillery, and suiting their movements to those of an attendant body of infantry, were ill adapted to the purpose of the war. He proposed, therefore, that the families and all the heavy equipments should be placed either in Gwalior or Jhansi, or under the protection of some of their own forts, whilst the Maratha horse and his own could cut off the supplies, and by constant skirmishing oblige the Mahomedan force to withdraw, and compel the Abdalis to retreat.

Holkar coincided with this opinion, but Sadashivrao had an aversion to Holkar and the Jaths. He imbibed a prejudice against Suraj Mal. Common report had spread accounts of wonders performed by Europeans; Sadashivrao himself had witnessed the effect of French discipline and artillery; he had gained great advantages by the employment of Ibrahim Khan, and he haughtily condemned the only advice that might have ensured success. The army proceeded to Delhi and attempted the citadel at once. A party of the Marathas clambered up one of the towers and got inside whilst the main body was assaulting the gateway, and the besieged busy in defending it; but the Marathas, who had made good their entrance without ever thinking of opening the gate to keep possession of the place, began to plunder for some time without interruption, but, being at last discovered, the whole body, as helpless as an unarmed mob, were driven out by about a dozen men.

The assault was therefore deferred, batteries were opened, and in a short time the fort capitulated.

Sadashiv Bhao, on this success, proposed placing Visvasrao on the throne and making Shujah-ud-Daulah his Vizier.

As the Jumna was already unfordable, Sadashiv Bhao cantoned his army at Delhi; where his innumerable followers consumed everything in the neighbourhood. All articles of provisions and supplies became scarce, but the first difficulty that appeared to Bhao was the want of treasure. In this respect, however, he was more provident than in others, he brought two crores of rupees with him from the Deccan, and Holkar, Sindia, Govindpant Bundele and the Rajputs furnished three more; but the prospect of want of funds induced Sadashivrao to seize the gold and silver ornaments of the Imperial Audience Chamber, and to destroy the throne, from all of which he only procured the sum of seventeen lacs of rupees. Against this procedure both Holkar and Suraj Mal remonstrated in the strongest manner, as they considered it both impolitic and indecorous, but Sadashivrao treated their opinion with scorn; upon which Suraj Mal, with his whole force, quitted the army in disgust, and the Rajputs, at the suggestions of some of their friends in the Mahomedan camp, withdrew from the Confederacy. In the meantime Ahmad Shah Abdali, whose camp was opposite to Anupshahr on the Ganges, had through Najib-ud-Daulah prevailed on Shujah-ud-Daulah to make common cause with the Mussulmans against the Hindus; but as Shujah-ud-Daulah was less inimical to the Marathas than any of the other confederates, Sadashivrao used many

endeavours to conciliate or detach him from the alliance, opened a private communication, and also made him the organ of public negotiation, which was carried on for months between the Marathas and Abdali. Both the public and private intercourse was laid open by Shujah-ud-Daulah to his allies; and his answers were dictated at their suggestion.

When the violence of the monsoon had abated, Sadashivrao raised Mirza Javan Bakht, the son of the absent Shah Alam, to the throne of Delhi, and proclaimed Shujah-ud-Daulah Vizier of the empire. He then left Naru Shankar with a garrison in the citadel, and proceeded in person to Kunjpur, a fortified town, strongly garrisoned, which he breached and stormed. Ahmad Shah had been desirous of relieving this post, but the Jumna was not yet fordable. He, however, moved his camp to the bank of the river and continued to amuse the Bhao by negotiation, and after several failures at last discovered a ford,<sup>1</sup> which he crossed twenty miles above Delhi.

A great part of his army had gained the western bank before Sadashiv Bhao would give credence to the intelligence, and the whole of the Mahomedans were across by the 25th of October. On the following morning the advanced guards of the two armies claimed the advantage. Nana Farnavis was present during the engagement, but was uninjured. Many balls fell in that part of the camp where the families were, which frightened them very much, amongst them was Nana Farnavis's mother, and, seeing her tremble, Nana told her to trust in God, who would preserve them from all harm.<sup>2</sup> It was the intention of the

<sup>1</sup> Bagpat.      <sup>2</sup> See the *Autobiography*, p. 168 *infra*.

Marathas to renew the engagement on the following day; but Holkar was still anxious to adopt the predatory system and act against their supplies; Ibrahim Khan expostulated against this in the most violent manner; and said it would be abandoning him and his corps to destruction; and that he would turn his guns on the first body of cavalry that follows such an advice. These dissensions were with some difficulty suppressed; and during their continuance the Marathas retired skirmishing to Panipat, where Sadashivrao, by Ibrahim Khan's advice, entrenched himself. He dug a ditch, fifty feet wide and twelve feet deep, raised a rampart on which he mounted guns round both his camp and the village of Panipat. Ahmad Shah likewise encamped with his allies, and fortified himself by placing felled trees round his encampment.

The Mahomedan force consisted of forty-one thousand eight hundred horse, thirty-eight thousand foot, and about seventy pieces of cannon. These were choice troops, but the irregulars, not mustered, were very numerous, and probably amounted to as many more.

The Marathas have been reckoned at fifty-five thousand horse, and fifteen thousand foot, with two hundred pieces of cannon, besides the Pindaris and followers, of whom there are supposed to have been upwards of two hundred thousand souls.

Soon after the armies had taken post, Sadashivrao directed Govindpant Bunde to cut off the enemy's supplies, in which for a time he was completely successful; but Atai Khan, sent out for the purpose, having come suddenly upon him when in a

mango grove with only about a thousand of his men, the rest being dispersed plundering, attacked and killed him; cut off his head, and presented the acceptable present to the Abdali king. Previously to the death of Govindpant, there was prospect of a treaty being concluded, officers of both armies had visited each other; but as Sadashivrao declared that Govindpant was only in quest of forage for his own army, mutual accusations of treachery inflamed both parties, and negotiation for a time ceased.

The loss of Govindpant was followed by another misfortune; a party of horse in charge of treasure, each man carrying a bag, were returning with it from Delhi; but having in the darkness mistaken the Afghan Camp for their own, they were cut off to a man. Although the Rajputs had deserted, still they continued to assist the Marathas with money. Suraj Mal also sent a very large sum, which reached them in safety. Notwithstanding all this, the distress soon became extreme and the battalion of Ibrahim Khan became clamorous for their arrears. Holkar therefore proposed that they should attack with the horse, and leave the gardis (such was the name by which the regular infantry were distinguished) to take care of the camp—a taunt to which the Bhao showed himself superior by acceding to the proposal. This attack was made on the 29th. November on the left of the Abdali camp; where Shah Vali Khan, the Vizier of Ahmad Shah, was posted. The Marathas, in number about fifteen thousand, broke in and charged all they met, and although the Afghans stoutly resisted the onset they were broken, and upwards of two thousand of them killed; at last, the Vizier having received

support from all parts of the camp, the Marathas in their turn were obliged to retreat with the loss of one thousand men.<sup>1</sup> Although there was almost daily skirmishing between the two different parties individually, in which the Marathas were usually the victors, still there was no action of importance until the 23rd December,<sup>2</sup> when Sadashivrao, Holkar, Balvantrao Ganpat Mehendale, and several other commanders, came out to attack Shah Vali Khan, who, attended by a body of horse, was proceeding to a mosque in the neighbourhood. On seeing the attack made by the Marathas, Najib-ud-Daulah and many other officers came out to support him, and a very desperate conflict ensued. Najib-ud-Daulah having advanced beyond the others towards the entrenchment, Balvantrao, then acting as the Dewan of Sadashivrao, an officer of courage and experience, instantly seized the advantage and charged him furiously. Three thousand Rohillas were killed, and Najib-ud-Daulah was for a time in great danger of being taken. But Balvantrao, in the moment of victory, was shot at the close of the day by a musket ball, when the Bhao, greatly afflicted by his loss, thought of his friend and consequently abandoned the action for the time.

Actions of this sort took place almost daily, the Rohillas and Shujah-ud-Daulah earnestly endeavoured to bring on a decisive action, but Ahmad Shah steadily refused, by which he proved himself a good general, acquainted both with the minds of men and the science of war. The impatience in his own camp, where the hardships were trifling compared with the Marathas'

<sup>1</sup> Holkar led on this occasion [November 23rd].

<sup>2</sup> December 7th.

distress, told him precisely the state of his enemies, and that every day's delay in their situation only rendered the prey more certain. The Marathas were starving, the improvident waste to which they had long been accustomed rendered them totally unable to bear misfortune and privation, and inaction gave them full time to reflect on the state to which they were reduced. Sadashivrao saw that it was now impossible to avoid a decisive battle, and although he still negotiated his own judgment told him it was hopeless. A vast body of followers, whom hunger had made careless and daring, issued forth from the entrenchment at night to endeavour to find food for themselves and their famished families, when they were discovered, surrounded, and butchered by the Afghans.

The Marathas being no longer able to bear privations, called to be led forth to fall by the sword in preference to being left to die of starvation. The chiefs applied to the Bhao, who approved of their resolve, and with his ordinary manner and in perfect composure distributed the usual *pan* and *betel* at the breaking up of the assembly.<sup>1</sup> Orders were issued to the troops to prepare for battle, all the grain in store was distributed, that they might have one full meal that night.

On the 7th January,<sup>2</sup> 1761, an hour before day-break, the Maratha troops were moving out of their entrenchment, their cannon, swivels and musketoons

<sup>1</sup> On the breaking up of an assembly or levee, or even in dismissing an ordinary visitor, rosewater, cardamums, cloves, mace, etc., are first distributed with betel-leaves (*pan*) and betel-nut.

<sup>2</sup> January 14th.



mounted on camels, and their rockets covered by Ibrahim Khan Gardi, marched first, next came Damaji Gaikwar's horse, followed by those of Vithal Shivdev. Sadashivrao Bhao, and Visvasrao, Jesvantrao Powar, Shamsheer Bahadur, Malharrao Holkar and Jankoji Sindia.

In this order they slowly advanced towards the Abdali camp, with every symptom of hopeless despair, rather than of steady resolution; the ends of their turbans were let loose, their hands and faces anointed with a preparation of turmeric, and everything seemed to bespeak the despondency of a sacrifice determined on rather than a victory. Sadashivrao gave over his own wife, and several of the principal families (amongst which was that of Nana Farnavis) to the particular care of Holkar. His reasons for so doing are supposed to have been that Malharrao was the only chief who might expect to find favour with the unrelenting Najib-ud-Daulah, by whose counsel Ahmad Shah was greatly swayed, and Holkar was, therefore, the only person whose influence was likely to obtain their eventual protection.

Sadashivrao, just before he moved out, sent a note to one of the karkuns of Shujah-ud-Daulah, Kasi-pant, who had been employed in their negotiations, in which was written: 'The cup is full to the brim, and cannot hold another drop, if anything is to be done, let it be immediate.' At the time this note was received, the scouts of Shujah-ud-Daulah brought intelligence that the Marathas were moving out, on which he proceeded straight to the king, whom he found asleep in his tent, with his horse saddled at the door. On being awaked he asked the news, and, when informed of the

exigency, mounted his horse, and rode forward about a mile in front of his lines, where he at first began to doubt the correctness of the intelligence; but by this time the Marathas had drawn up in battle array in the same order as they had marched out, with Ibrahim Khan on the left, and Jankoji Sindia on the right. . . . The artillery was drawn up in front of the line, and a general salvo from their guns announced that they were ready. Upon hearing this, the king, who was sitting on his horse smoking a kaliyan,<sup>1</sup> gave it to his attendant and with great calmness said to his Vizier, 'Your servant's news is true, I see.' He then ordered out his army, which drew up with its artillery in front. Shah Vali Khan, with the Afghans, was posted in the centre; from which Ahmed Khan Bangash, Hafiz Rahmat, and Dundhi Khan's Rohillas, with Amir Beg and Barkhurdar Khan, formed the right wing; and on Shah Vali Khan's left were posted Shujah-ud-Daulah, Rohilla; Shah Pasond Khan, with a choice body of Afghans, secured the extremity of the left flank.

In this order the battle began with a general cannonade, both lines then drew near each other, Ibrahim Khan Gardi, supported by Damaji Gaikwar, advanced resolutely on the right wing of the Mahomedan army, where the Rohillas were placed, at the same time covering his left flank from the attack of Amir Beg and Barkhurdar Khan by wheeling back two of his battalions in an oblique direction. On the right of the Marathas, Jankoji Sindia was immediately opposed to Shah Pasond Khan, and Najib-ud-Daulah, the last advanced, throwing up a succession of embankments to cover his infantry, a most extraordinary labour, which

<sup>1</sup> Hookah.

he probably undertook with a view to ultimate defence, that, in case, as was not improbable, the desperate impetuosity of the Marathas should break through the line, each embankment might become a rallying point. Sadashivrao with his nephew and Jasvantrao Powar were opposite to the Grand Vizier. The great Bhagva Jhenda, or standard of the nation, was raised in front, and three Jari Patkas were in the field. Ahmad Shah was at some distance in the rear of the Mahomedan army, when both combatants had respectively advanced beyond their artillery. The Maratha cry of 'Hara Hara Mahadev!' was distinctly heard, the battle then became general, and a tremendous charge was made full in the centre, where the troops of the Grand Vizier, of which ten thousand were horse, made a great mistake in not advancing to meet the shock. The Marathas, in consequence, broke through them, but riders on both sides were dashed to the ground. The dust and confusion were so great that combatants, whilst they fought hand to hand and grappled in the strife of death, could only distinguish each other by the Mahomedan Allah and Din; or the incessant Hara, Hara, Mahadev, which rent the air. Shah Vali Khan, in full armour, threw himself from his horse, and the bravest of his men followed his example; but most of the Afghans gave way. 'Our country is far off,' said he, 'whither do you fly?' But he was left for a time defended by only a remnant of his broken force. Ibrahim Khan Gardi, though with a loss of more than half his men and himself wounded, was successful; nearly eight thousand Rohillas lay dead or wounded; but the left wing of the Mahomedan army was still unbroken. About the noon the state of the battle was

reported to Ahmad Shah, who now evinced the collected decision of a great commander. He directed a chosen band of his personal guards to enter his encampment and drive out every armed man who had retired from his duty—an order which was promptly executed. Troops were soon sent to support the wing that remained unbroken, and the Grand Vizier was directed to make repeated charges with ten thousand men at full speed on the centre of the Marathas, whilst Shah Pasond Khan and Najib-ud-Daulah supported the Vizier by simultaneous attacks on the flank.

These onsets were still met and repulsed, but the physical strength of the Afghans, in the protracted and close struggle, was an over match for the lighter frames of the Hindu natives of the south. The Marathas, however, on this terrible day fought most valiantly, and no chief was reproachable but Malharrao Holkar. Of his courage none of his countrymen doubted, but he did not do his best to support his prince, and some do not hesitate to accuse him of treachery.<sup>1</sup> A

<sup>1</sup> The early escape of Malharrao, on a day so fatal to his nation as that of Panipat, has given rise to some reproaches; but his advocates ascribe his safety to his superior knowledge as a leader, which made him, when he saw the action lost, keep his party together, and retreat with an order that none of the others preserved. This account will be more probable if we credit the statement given of his quarrel with his commander on the day on which the battle was fought. He had, it is affirmed, entreated Sadashivrao to delay the action for one or two days; but the later, whose pride and vanity exceeded all bounds, impatient of the advice, exclaimed, 'Who wants the counsel of a goat-herd?' A nearly similar taunt lost the Maratha commander the services on this day of one of his most efficient allies, Suraj Mal, the Jath Prince of Bharatpur.

little after two o'clock in the afternoon Visvas Ram mortally wounded, on seeing which Sadashiv descended from his elephant<sup>1</sup> and sent, it is said, a message to Holkar to do as he had directed. On mounting his horse, a famous Arab charger, disabled in the confusion of the fight. The message to Holkar, if it ever was given, as he alleges, proved instantaneously fatal. Holkar went off, Damaji's war followed, and in a moment resistance on the part of the Marathas ceased. All was then flight and confusion, thousands were cut down, and vast numbers perished by suffocation in the ditch of their entrenchment; men, women and children crowded into the village of Panipat, where they were surrounded at night by the Afghans; and here it might seem that the greatest barbarians would have been touched with a feeling of mercy; but the Afghans showed none. To the eternal disgrace of themselves and humanity the next morning coolly took out their unfortunate women and divided them in their camp. They retained the women and children as slaves, but they ranged them in lines, and amused themselves in cutting off their heads, which they afterwards piled up in heaps in front of their tents as trophies. The body of Visvas was found, and Ahmad Shah having sent for it to be buried at, the Afghans assembled in a tumultuous manner, calling out, 'This is the body of the king'

<sup>1</sup> The victory of Panipat, which is to be ascribed to the superior courage and energy of the Afghans, is naturally referred by the Marathas to other causes, and amongst those the death of Visvasrao, the son of the Peshwa, which was imprudently communicated to the army by the obstinate impatient Sadashivrao, who made the elephant sit down, that he might see for the last time his favourite nephew.

unbelievers, we will have it dried and stuffed to carry back to Kabul.'

Shujah-ud-Daulah and the Rohillas at last prevailed upon them to allow the body to be burnt by the Hindus. Shujah-ud-Daulah also endeavoured to save Junkoji Sindia and Ibrahim Khan Gardi, who were among the wounded prisoners; but the enmity of Najib-ud-Daulah to the name of Sindia was inflexible, and the crime on the part of Ibrahim Khan, of having fought on the side of the Hindus against the true believers, decided his fate; they were both put to death. A headless trunk, supposed to be the body of the Bhao, was found at some distance from the field of battle, and there is scarcely a doubt of his having been slain; but his fate was never accurately known. Jesvantrao Powar fell in the field, but Shamsher Bahadur escaped wounded from the field, and was one of the many massacred by the peasantry. Vithal Shivdev, Damaji Gaikwar and Naru Shankar, with a part of the garrison at Delhi, returned to their own country. Of the fighting men, one-fourth only are supposed to have escaped, and of the followers about an equal proportion; so that nearly two hundred thousand Marathas perished in the campaign.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Amongst those that escaped from the fatal field was Mahadji Sindia. He fled from the field, but was pursued to a great distance by an Afghan, who, on reaching him, gave him so severe a cut on the knee with a battle axe, that he was deprived for life of the use of his right leg. His enemy, content with inflicting this wound and stripping him of some ornaments and his mare, left him to his fate. He was first discovered by a water-carrier, of the name of Bhama Khan, who was among the fugitives: this man placing him on his bullock, carried him towards the Deccan. Mahadji used frequently to recount the

Suraj Mal treated such of the fugitives as reached his territory with the greatest kindness, and the Maratha nation to this day view the conduct of the Jaths on that occasion with gratitude and regard.

During the period Sadashivrao was shut up in his entrenchment news of his situation from time to time reached the Peshwa, and in consequence he moved to Ahmednagar and from thence to the banks of the Godavery. Shortly after his arrival the intelligence received became more alarming, and Jankoji Bhonsle having joined him with a body of ten thousand men, the army moved towards Hindustan. They were crossing the Nerbada when they fell in with a *kasid* (messenger) belonging to the Saukars, who had promised to reach Aurungabad in nine days after leaving Panipat. He was brought to the Peshwa, who opened the despatch committed to his charge and read the contents, which were as follows : 'Two pearls have been dissolved, twenty-seven gold mohurs have been lost, and of the silver and copper the total cannot be calculated.' From these words, the fate of Sadashivrao, Visvasrao, the officers and the army was understood. A confirmation of this distressing intelligence was

particulars of this pursuit. His fine Deccan mare carried him a great way ahead of the strong ambling animal upon which the soldier, who had marked him for his prey, was mounted ; but whenever he rested for an interval, however short, his enemy appeared keeping the same pace ; at last his fatigued mare fell into a ditch. He was taken, wounded, spat on and left. He used to say to the British Resident at his court, the late General Palmer, that the circumstance had made so strong an impression upon his imagination, that he could not for a long time sleep without seeing the Afghan and his clumsy charger pacing after him and his fine Deccany mare.

soon brought by fugitives from the army. Amongst the fresh arrivals was Nana Farnavis; his mother was taken by the Afghans, but his wife escaped, as did also Parvatibai, widow of the unfortunate Bhao. Grief and despondency at once spread over the whole of Maharashtra; all the military families had to mourn relatives missing or slain, and the Peshwa never recovered from the shock; he slowly retraced his steps towards Poona, but his faculties were much impaired; a rapid decay of his constitution ensued, and he expired in the month of June at the temple of Parvati, a conspicuous building erected by him in the southern environs of the city of Poona.<sup>1</sup>

We must now revert to Nana Farnavis's personal adventures. Early in the action he had been advised to seek safety in flight, but he did not think it honourable to leave his friend at such a critical time; but at about five o'clock, finding that Bhao Sahib had disappeared, he turned his horse from the field, reached the village of Panipat, which was already crowded with fugitives. He would have at once proceeded further, but was totally unacquainted with the country. Fortunately for him, he fell in with a Brahmin by name Ranojipant who strongly advised him to dismount from his horse and disguise himself, it being his only chance of escape. He therefore divested himself of all his clothes and

<sup>1</sup> Note.—Few actions have been attended with greater carnage, the lowest at which the loss of the Maratha army is estimated is more than two hundred thousand men, half of whom were slain; and the moral effect was still greater. The armies of the nation had collected for the struggle, and defeat was for a moment felt as the annihilation of their power.



accoutrements with the exception of a small cloth round his loins, and at nightfall his new acquaintance, with a few followers, guided him westward. They had not left Panipat more than a coss when they fell in with a party of the enemy, who stopped and searched them; but although in the scuffle some of the followers were killed, Nana and his friend escaped uninjured. They had, however, advanced only twelve coss when they fell in with another party, who destroyed the whole of Nana's followers including his guide; he alone was saved by concealing himself in some long grass. After lying concealed for a considerable time and seeing no traces of the enemy, he proceeded on his way, and although from childhood he had been totally unused to pedestrian exercise, still, under the influence of his fears, he walked sixteen coss without stopping or even obtaining a morsel of food. The following day, after endeavouring to satisfy his hunger with leaves of trees, towards the evening he fortunately reached a village, at the entrance of which was a gossavi's hut, into which he entered and was kindly treated by the gossavi, who gave him food, and, having rested there all night, at daybreak he continued his journey. After proceeding some distance further he came to another village, where he was kindly entertained by a merchant, who, on finding out who he was, introduced him to a rough rider, by name Yeshwantrao, who engaged to escort him to Poona, but, hearing that some of the enemy's troops had made their appearance in the neighbourhood, the merchant agreed to forward Nana in his own gharry as far as Jayanagar. He accordingly started for that place, but on the road, suspecting that

treachery might be intended, he left the gharry and proceeded on foot until he reached a place called Ramwari. At this village he was most hospitably entertained by a rich man, by name Ramji Das, who induced him to remain seven days. At last Nana expressed a wish to proceed to Dig, but his host would on no account hear of his leaving until provided with a trustworthy escort; shortly afterwards, however, he discovered that a party of respectable persons were about to proceed there on account of a marriage, Ramji Das, therefore, sent Nana along with them in his own gharry. On the road it so happened that he fell in with an acquaintance, who informed him that his wife had been safely conveyed to a place called Jinji by Verojirao Baraunkar, and was there living in safety under the protection of her uncle, Narupant Gokhale. On receiving this pleasing intelligence Nana immediately proceeded there, and was received with great joy, having been considered as one of the victims of that fatal battle.

After resting there for a few days and thoroughly recruiting his strength, he took his wife with him and proceeded to Dig. At that place, having fallen with an old friend, by name Mahadeo Purshottam, who had also managed to escape from Panipat, he was prevailed upon by him to remain there for nearly a month, after which he again proceeded on his journey. During his journey he fell in with a follower of his mother, who informed him of her decease; this news affected him to such a degree that at first he determined to abjure the world and proceed on a pilgrimage to Benares, but he at last yielded to the advice of his friends to proceed home and there perform his mother's funeral obsequies.

On arriving at Burhanpur he found the Peshwa, who had halted there on hearing of the defeat at Panipat. The Peshwa received Nana Farnavis with the greatest kindness. Nana related all that had taken place, and shortly after the Peshwa became so fond of his society that he was never satisfied except in his presence. A few days after Nana's arrival at Burhanpur, the Peshwa determined on proceeding to Poona. Nana's wife being in a delicate state of health, he obtained permission to remain some time longer on the banks of the Nerbada. Shortly after the Peshwa had reached Poona he found his health declining so much that he wrote several letters to Nana, pressing him to join him without delay, as he felt he had not long to live. Nana therefore started to join him, and had reached Parniva when he was informed of the Peshwa's death at Parvati, as before mentioned.<sup>1</sup> Nana Farnavis was much grieved at the loss of his friend, and after his arrival in Poona remained for some time in close retirement.

In the month of September following it was determined upon by Raghunathrao, otherwise called

<sup>1</sup> There is little doubt that Anandibai was the original cause of the murder of Narayanrao, who, when flying from his murderers, was clasping his hands round his uncle and imploring his life. Anandibai rushed from her apartments, and unknotted the boy's hand, and threw him with violence from Raghoba. He met the fate to which (it is believed by almost all Marathas) she, from a desire to raise herself and her children, was the chief cause of his being doomed. Raghoba, who is considered by his countrymen as being weaker than he was wicked, continued through life under the influence of this bold, bad woman, of whom I never heard the Marathas speak but with disgust and indignation.

Dada Sahib, to take Madhavrao, the second son of the late Peshwa, to Satara for the purpose of investing him with his father's office, and invited Nana Farnavis, to go with them; he at first refused, as he considered himself merely as a servant of the Peshwas and having no relation to the Raja of Satara. He was, however, prevailed upon to go, and having been present at the investiture he returned with Madhavrao to Poona.

From this period up to the latter end of 1762, Nana Farnavis appears to have remained unemployed, when, at that time, disputes having arisen between Madhavrao and his uncle on account of the former desiring a place in the administration, Nana Farnavis was appointed, along with Haripant Phadke, a personal karkun of Madhavrao's, and this selection was considered to be a very creditable one. Nana continued in this situation till the following year, when, owing to a treaty concluded with the Nizam, the fort of Miraj was returned to Gopalrao Patwardhan and Nana was duly confirmed in the appointment of Farnavis, which had been temporarily held by the former. Subsequently to this period, until the year 1769, we hear little of him; at that time he appears siding with Mahadji Sindia, who, at the death of his nephew, had laid claim to the family jaghir, and, although the arrangement was distasteful to his master, still his influence was so great that the point was carried, and ever after he was held in great esteem by Mahadji Sindia.

In the year 1772, Madhavrao Peshwa died, and under his successor, Narayanrao, the great abilities of Nana began to develop themselves; he was found to have a remarkable facility in getting through busi-

ness. He was duly recognized in his appointment and was in great favour with his master.

Soon after Narayanrao's murder, on the 30th August, 1773, Nana Farnavis and his cousin, Moroba, associated themselves with Sakharam Bapu, Trimbakrao, Mama Raghoba Purundare, Anandrao Jivaji, and Haripant Phadke, in attempting a revolution in setting up a claimant in opposition to Raghunathrao, who had seized on the government on the death of Narayanrao, in whose murder he is said by some to have been concerned. The plot was as follows: Early in the month of January subsequent to the death of Narayanrao, it was reported that Gangabai, his widow, was pregnant; it was, therefore, resolved, on pretence of taking her to a place of safety, to convey her to the fort of Purandar; but it is generally believed that the real motive was to disguise an intention they had formed of eventually exchanging the infant of Gangabai, in case of its proving a female, by substituting a male child. For this purpose several Brahmin women in a state of pregnancy were said to have been conveyed into the fort at the same time. Gangabai herself was carried off from Poona by Nana Farnavis and Haripant Phadke on the morning of the 30th January, 1774; but the reason of her removal was publicly announced. Parvatibai, the widow of Sadasshivrao, a lady very much respected, accompanied her; the ministers forming themselves into a sort of regency under Gangabai began to govern the country in her name. All the adherents of Raghunathrao were thrown into confinement, negotiations were opened with Nizam Ali and Sabaji Bhonsle, both of whom agreed to support the widow's preten-

sions ; and intrigues, managed by Krishnarao Balvant in the camp of Raghunathrao, were ready to break forth in general revolt the moment that a signal was received from the confederates in Poona.

Raghunathrao immediately levied war with variable success, but at last his affairs reached a crisis by the birth of Madhavrao Narayan, on the 18th April, which gave a finishing blow to his ever being recognized as Peshwa. Notwithstanding the suspicions created by the scheme which was adopted for eventually imposing on the country, there is little doubt but that the child was really the son of the murdered Narayanrao.

Sakharam Bapu and Nana Farnavis were deputed by Gangabai to receive the clothes of investiture for her son, which were sent from Satara by the Raja in charge of Madhavrao Nilkant Purandare, and the infant was duly installed as Peshwa when he was only forty days old. The ministers, however, very soon became jealous of each other. Nana Farnavis was too cautious a person to take the lead in an infant government. But, like the generality of men who had risen by revolution, and who seldom appear in the foreground, he supported Sakharam Bapu as the person likely to have most weight and consideration with the public ; this conduct of his proceeded as much from timidity as design. Sakharam was an old, cautious, time-serving courtier, but he was a man of much more courage than Nana Farnavis, and in the humble and assiduous attention of his colleague and adherent he did not foresee a future and powerful rival ; for such, indeed, was the influence of Sakharam Bapu, that his secession from the cause of the ministers, which Nana often apprehended, would have ruined them. One

circumstance not generally known. which was used by Nana as an instrument of his ambition, was the power he had acquired over Gangabai; for, although a profound secret at the time, the young widow was deeply enamoured of Nana Farnavis, and was taught by him the best means of managing the old minister.

Moraba, the cousin of Nana Farnavis, who had ostensibly been the prime minister of Madhavrao, was dissatisfied on finding little deference paid to him, and would have readily returned to Raghunathrao, if he could have done it with safety, and insured his future power. Such of the other ministers as would not submit to Sakharam and Nana were soon united in common discontent. The cabal was, in short, divided into two parties, and the disagreement became generally known by the discovery of a correspondence, on the part of Moraba, Raghoba, and Babaji Naik, with the ex-Peshwa. It appeared, from letters that had been intercepted by Haripant, that these three had formed a plan for securing the persons of Sakharam Bapu, Nana Farnavis, Gangabai, and her son; all of whom, on account of the chilling cold frequently experienced in hill forts during the rains, had come down from Purandar to reside in the neighbouring village of Sasur; but, receiving intelligence of the conspiracy, they instantly with undissembled panic betook themselves to the fort, where they remained during the early part of 1775, Sakharam Bapu and Nana Farnavis carrying on the affairs of State.

In the meantime Raghoba was endeavouring to conclude a negotiation with the English as also one with Govindrao Gaikwar, which treaty was concluded

and signed on the 6th March, 1775. At this time the state of the young Peshwa's affairs wore a very unpromising aspect, owing to Raghoba's successes; both Sakharam and Nana Farnavis were much disheartened, and dreaded the consequences which generally follow disaster in India by the defections of allies; and although, whilst Raghunathrao was a fugitive in Guzerat he had solicited and obtained through Nana Farnavis from the young Peshwa a confirmation of the rights and honours of Sena Sahib Subah for his son Raghoji, together with such privileges for himself as pertained to the guardianship, yet the ministers were apprehensive that the rising fortunes of Raghoba would ensure him the support of the Raja of Berar. Nizam Ali also caused the ministers great uneasiness by pretending to doubt the legitimacy of Madhavrao Narayan; many of the Maratha chiefs also being desirous of shaking off the Brahmin ministry, occasioned a revolution in the opinions of many, and an anxiety in the minds of all; but, fortunately, on the 3rd February, 1775, the Supreme Council of Bengal, who had taken upon themselves the powers of general administration of the affairs of British India, addressed a letter to the Bombay Government, completely condemning the measures taken by them in concluding a treaty with Raghoba, which they declared to be invalid, and said the Maratha war was impolitic, dangerous, unauthorized and unjust, and peremptorily required them to withdraw their forces within their own garri- sons, in whatever state their affairs might be, unless their safety would be endangered by an instant retreat. The Governor-General in Council also intimated their intention of sending an agent of their own to



open a negotiation with the ruling party of the Maratha State. Although the Bombay Government was opposed to this measure, the Supreme Government still adhered to their determination, and Lieut.-Colonel John Upton was selected as Envoy Plenipotentiary, and instructed to repair to Poona and conclude a treaty between the Maratha State and the Bombay Government. This precipitate interference on the part of the Governor-General and Council tended immediately to strengthen the hands of the ministers at Purandar, and it ultimately cemented the tottering Confederacy of the Marathas under the administration of Nana Farnavis.

Colonel Upton arrived at Purandar on the 2nd December. In the meanwhile the Governor-General had written to Sakharam Bapu, stating that the war had been waged without his authority and that he had issued orders for the suspension of hostilities and requested the ministers would do the same, and intimated the intention of sending an envoy to negotiate a peace. The ministers soon perceived the advantage thus placed in their hands, and as Brahmins in politics misconstrue moderation and attribute concession solely to fear, they assumed a high tone of demand and menace, which Colonel Upton believed to be firm and sincere. Colonel Upton's correspondence bears ample testimony of sincerity and moderation, but he was ill-qualified to conclude a negotiation with Maratha Brahmins. Finding, after a considerable deal of negotiation, that he could not bring the ministers to favourable terms, he expressed his opinions to the Governor-General by letter, dated 7th February, who, upon that, determined to support the

cause of Raghoba with the utmost vigour. The ministers, however, almost immediately after they had carried their menaces to the utmost pitch, acceded at once to the greatest part of Colonel Upton's original demands, and before accounts had time to reach Calcutta that the negotiations had been broken off the treaty of Purandar was settled on the 1st March, 1776, by Colonel Upton on the part of the Company's Government, and Sakharam Bapu and Nana Fainavis on that of the Peshwa's, but the name of the Peshwa was omitted, the title of Rao Pandit Pradhan being only mentioned in the treaty. It was supposed that the omission of the name, Madhavrao Narayan, was most likely a precaution, as in case of the child's death it was probably their intention to get Gangabai to adopt a son. In consequence of this treaty, that between the Bombay Government and Raghoba was formally annulled. The English troops were to return to their garrisons and the army of Raghoba to be disbanded within a month, a general amnesty to be proclaimed to all followers of Raghoba, four only excepted, whom the ministers knew to be particularly implicated in the murder of Narayanrao. If Raghunathrao should refuse to disband his army the English agreed not to assist him on condition of his assenting to the prescribed terms. The Peshwa and his ministers consented to allow him two hundred domestics to be chosen by himself, one thousand horse, and twenty-five thousand rupees monthly for his other expenses, but his residence was fixed at Kopergaon, on the Godavery; the treaties of 1739 and 1756, and all other agreements, not suspended or dissolved by the present articles, were confirmed.

In 1777 Gangabai, the young Peshwa's mother, died. Gangabai was the cause of her own death, by having taken medicine for the purpose of concealing the consequence of her illicit intercourse with Nana Farnavis.<sup>1</sup> About this time an adventurer, named St. Lubin, after imposing on the English Government at Madras, obtained authority from the French ministry to proceed to Poona and ascertain what advantages could be gained by an alliance with the Marathas. St. Lubin endeavoured to obtain the cession of the port of Cheul with the forts of Rewadenda; and, in order to induce Nana Farnavis to enter upon a defensive alliance, he offered to bring two thousand five hundred Europeans to support the ministry, to raise and discipline ten thousand sepoys, and to furnish an abundance of military and marine stores; he affected the utmost horror at the conduct of the English in supporting Raghoba; a painting had been executed under his directions in France to represent the barbarous murder of Narayanrao, in which it was said by some (as we have before mentioned) that Raghunathrao was concerned. He exhibited the picture himself before the Darbar in a burst of grief, which drew tears from some of the spectators, whilst in others it excited ridicule or contempt. A cheat in the character of a European gentleman was new to the Marathas, but the discernment of Nana Farnavis could not have been even temporarily obscured by such superficial artifice. It is probable that in the great encouragement he affected to give St. Lubin, and in various petty indignities offered to the British

<sup>1</sup> This the family deny, but the personal likeness between Nana and the young Peshwa leaves room for doubt.

envoy, that he had no other object than to excite the jealousy of the English, without being aware of the dangerous nature of the experiment on which he ventured.

Nana Farnavis was inimical to all Europeans; but the despicable conduct of St. Lubin must have tended to lower the French nation in his estimation, and that of the Marathas in general. M. Botts, originally in the Company's service in Bengal, who was at Poona at the same period as an avowed agent of the House of Austria, received no such civilities, Nana probably perceived that St. Lubin was a fitter tool; and Mr. Botts, who was early dismissed, might have viewed that circumstance as complimentary to his character.

The credulity which prevailed on the continent of Europe regarding India, and, joined to this, an uncommon plausibility of address, had enabled St. Lubin to impose on several young men whom he persuaded to embark in this enterprise, but unprincipled men, however superior they may fancy themselves, have frequent foibles which speedily discover their true character; and those of St. Lubin's seem to have been egregious vanity and excessive irritability of temper, the latter being one of the worst failings that a person engaged in political negotiations with natives could possibly have. Most of his companions became estranged from him; suspicion soon brought on altercation, and St. Lubin would have most probably murdered them had they not sought protection from Mr. Mostyn, member of the Bombay Civil Service.

The encouragement given by Nana Farnavis to St. Lubin might have had the effect of alarming the Bombay Government and inducing them to accept the

stipulations of the treaty of Purandar under the disadvantages which the minister would have imposed, had they not been uniformly supported by the Court of Directors, who authorized them to make an alliance with Raghoba, should not the conditions of the treaty be fulfilled by the ministers.

In the meantime dissensions amongst the parties at Poona continued to increase. Nana Farnavis despised the abilities of his cousin, but with a Brahmin's caution he was at more pains to conceal his contempt than his enmity. Moroba was supported by a strong party. The English envoy attributed the confidence he could perceive in Nana to assurance of support from France. Immediately after the death of Gangabai, Sakharam Bapu began to be jealous of his hitherto humble colleague, and now united, but cautiously, in a plan for the restoration of Raghoba. Moroba made the proposal to Bombay, and requested that the Government would immediately bring Raghoba to Poona. Preparations were accordingly commenced, and the President and Council determined to afford their assistance without delay.

But although the Bombay Government agreed to aid the scheme of Moroba, it was with a proviso that Sakharam Bapu, the principal authority in signing the treaty of Purandar, should state in writing that the invitation was made by his desire. This decided declaration Sakharam, unfortunately for himself, refused, and the plan was in consequence suspended, but it was the deliberate opinion of the Bombay Government that their own safety depended on their effecting a change in the Poona administration.

The complex political machine which Nana Farna-

vis managed on this emergency with consummate artifice, was at first a little deranged by a premature attempt to apprehend Moroba, who made his escape from Poona. This exposure would have disconcerted most men; but Nana, through Sakharam Bapu, persuaded his cousin to return, and it was agreed that a new ministry should be formed, including Moroba and Bugoba Purandare, but Bugoba was not so easily persuaded, and Sakharam Hari nobly declared that nothing should ever induce him to abjure the cause of a generous master who had been his protector from youth to manhood; that Raghunathrao was a soldier; and Nana a cunning, cowardly courtier.

Moroba's party by the aid of Holkar's troops obtained the complete ascendancy; and Nana, who was obliged to retreat to Purandar, pretended to acquiesce in the plan for conducting Raghoba to Poona, on condition of obtaining security for himself and property. The Bombay Government again received notice to prepare; but the weak Moroba imagined that he had attained his object, and fancied himself at the head of the administration. Nana affected his usual deference for Sakharam's opinion, and was scrupulously respectful to his cousin. Consultations regarding the restoration of Raghunathrao took place, and Moroba began to perceive the force of Nana's objections. He could not but recollect that when he was minister under Madhavrao, the conduct of Raghunathrao had invariably tended to dissension, loss, or dishonour. He therefore, though pretending to be desirous of reinstating Raghoba, began to evade the question when pressed by his English friends. A majority of the Council in Bombay, seeing that their hopes from

Moroba's party had vanished, soothing themselves with the hope of a continuance of peace with France, and with an order of being able to destroy the influence of the French at Poona, came to the determination on the 22nd April of countermanding Colonel Leslie's detachment, which had been ordered to march across from the Jumna to Bombay. But on the 31d of the ensuing month they revised this resolution, for reasons which will be explained, and directed Colonel Leslie's advance. Moroba had given Mr. Mostyn assurances that St. Lubin should be dismissed, but his departure was delayed from day to day; and it was soon discovered that St. Lubin, by Nana's contrivance, had been able to persuade Moroba to entertain his views; but in effect, notwithstanding appearances, Nana Farnavis, unless under the immediate influence of fear, would have been the great obstacle to the French view had they ever attempted an establishment in the Maratha country. His jealousy of Europeans would never have admitted a French force sufficiently strong even for the expulsion of the English from the small settlement of Bombay, unless he could have been certain of crushing them afterwards. Nana Farnavis, however, fully believed that St. Lubin could bring troops, and one deception, which the impostor adopted to obtain credit, by writing to Goa and Daman for permission to pass two French regiments through the Portuguese territories, seems only to have succeeded where he least wished it—with the English, who intercepted his letters. While the events that have just been detailed were occurring, Mahadji Sindia and Haripant had united their forces at Miraj; both these officers were in Nana's interests; and a well-



MAHADJI SINDIA



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concerted plan of threatening Hyder during Nana's danger deceived both Hyder and Moroba; nor did Moroba awake from his dream of his security until Haripant and Mahadji Sindia united at Purandar on the 8th June, having taken different routes. Nana then resumed his former power, occupied the principal passes in the country with his troops, and through Sindia's influence, seconded with a bribe of nine lacs of rupees, detached Holkar from the Confederacy. Moroba upon this once more commenced negotiating with the English, but it was too late; the opportunity was lost. On the 11th July, Moroba was seized by a party of horse belonging to Mahadji Sindia, and shortly after made over to Nana, by whom he was thrown into confinement in the fortress of Ahmednagar; the whole of his party was arrested but Sakharam Bapu, whose confinement was only kept in abeyance, because his being ostensibly at liberty was essential in regard to the treaty with the English. Bagaba Purandare was thrown into the fort of Wandan, and the others into different hill forts in the Ghauts.<sup>1</sup>

The deep artifice of Nana Farnavis had succeeded in baffling the designs of his own countrymen, but he

<sup>1</sup> The unshaken constancy of (one of those sent into confinement) Sakharam Hari to his master, Raghoba, deserved a better fate. He was chained to irons so heavy, that, although a very powerful man, he could scarcely lift them; his food and water were insufficient to allay his hunger or quench his thirst; but he survived fourteen months; and, when so emaciated that he could not rise, 'my strength is gone, and my life is going,' said the dying enthusiast, 'but when voice and breath fail, my fleshless bones shall still shout Raghunathrao, Raghunathrao.' Sakharam Hari was a singular instance of the unshaken fidelity of that class in the history of Maharashtra.

had still to encounter the intellect and vigour of the Englishmen. The national jealousy he had vainly sought to awaken rose with an aspect that terrified him. The application of the Resident at Poona to the Marathas to send troops to Sindia and Holkar, for passports to facilitate the march of a body of British troops from the east to the western side of India for the declared purpose of counteracting the designs of the French, so far from first to have been viewed by the Marathas as a light of a threat only. They probably inferred that if it had been intended to send troops to the coast they would have been embarked from the Coromandel and replaced from Bengal. The motive, however, of forming an alliance with Mudaji was the motive of the Governor-General for cutting off the overland route.

It appearing that Nana Farnavis not only objected to the fulfilment of the treaty of Purandar, but was supposed to be negotiating with, if he had not concluded a treaty with, the French, which threatened the existence of the Company's possessions in the West of India, the Bombay Government also received instructions from the Governor-General and Council to assist in tranquillizing the Marathas. They thought themselves authorized to call upon the new administration to know whether or not they held the Maratha State bound by the treaty of Purandar, and to demand implicit answers to the points still in dispute. Instructions to that effect were addressed to their envoy, and they directed him to remonstrate on St. Lubin's being still allowed to remain at Poona. Nana Farnavis now perceived that he had committed himself with regard

English further than he had intended or might be able to retract, and his enmity had been too actively exercised towards Raghoba even to hope for reconciliation with him or his friends. St. Lubin was dismissed early in July, before Moroba was placed in confinement, but Nana, on St. Lubin's taking leave, although he entered on no actual agreement, was at that time sincere in his assurances when he declared that, if the envoy could bring a French corps to his aid, he would grant his nation an establishment in the Maratha territories. Sindia and Holkar granted passports for Colonel Leslie's detachment, as it was their object that the British troops should pass through their territories as friends rather than as enemies. Nana Farnavis sent secret orders to the Maratha officers and to the Rajas in Bundelkhand to oppose his progress. It was at this conjuncture that Moroba's party made proposals to Mr. Mostyn containing satisfactory assurances on every point referred, but Nana, who was fully apprized of all that was going forward, in order to create delay, kept back the acknowledged and executive authority of the State until Mr. Mostyn's patience was quite exhausted, and that gentleman started for Bombay without it. Soon after he was gone, however, Nana sent them to his assistant, Mr. Lewis, who transmitted them to Bombay. These replies positively denied having entered on any treaty with the French, but in general they were merely a brief summary of the arguments they had before used in their interpretation of the articles of the treaty of Purandar. In regard to the important question of whether or not the new ministry held themselves responsibly bound by that treaty, they

observed that if the English kept that treaty faithfully they would do the same.

At the time that these evasive answers were received in Bombay, intelligence arrived of the war with France, and the President and Council, after deliberating upon the replies and the proposals of Moroba's party, were of opinion that the former were a violation of the treaty of Purandar, and that they, in consequence, conceived themselves at liberty to pursue such measures as might be expedient for the subversion of a party in the Maratha State so decidedly inimical to the English interests. They therefore resolved to place Raghoba in the Regency, but with an express proviso that the government should be conducted in the name of the young Peshwa, Madhavrao Narayan, and that the entire power should be surrendered to him on the expiring of his minority (which by the Maratha law is from sixteen to twenty years of age). The whole was to be kept a secret until the opening of the season, when it was intended to carry their plans into effect with the utmost vigour; and in the meantime they ordered Colonel Leslie to march towards Joonere.

Nana Farnavis perceived the gathering storm, and his preparations to meet it were in progress whilst those of the Bombay Government were still in embryo. To prevent the interference of Sakharam Bapu, he was, on the plea of great age, removed from the administration, and guarded by a body of Sindia's troops, who were placed over his person and house, though still Nana Farnavis and Sindia pretended to be guided by his advice. In the meanwhile silladars<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A silladar is a man who provides and keeps his own horse, and receives an average pay in lieu of all charges for his support.

were recruited all over the country and directed to assemble at the Dasara, vessels in the different ports were refitted, the forts provisioned, and fresh instructions forwarded to harass Leslie on his march; but at the same time positive orders were sent not to avow that the opposition was made by authority from Poona. An agent was also sent to Bombay to amuse the Government by making overtures to Raghoba; but the vigilance of Mr. Lewis had apprized them of the intention.

In the end of August, the Bombay Government, for the first time, received some general information from the Governor-General and Council of their intention to form an alliance with Mudaji Bhonsle, and they were directed to enter on no engagement hostile to the Government of Poona, excepting such as was absolutely defensive. But the President and Council observed that Mudaji was so wholly unconnected with the idea of establishing Raghoba in the Regency that this intimation ought not to be allowed to interrupt their proceedings. Notwithstanding all this, up to the 12th of October no preparations had been begun in Bombay. After considerable wrangling amongst the Council, Mr. John Carnac was appointed President of Committee to settle the preliminaries of a treaty with Raghoba. This Committee was composed of two members of Council and the Commander of the forces, in whom was not only vested the political authority but every other arrangement for conducting Raghunathrao to Poona; the basis of the new agreement with Raghunathrao differed little from the treaty of Surat as far as the Company were concerned; but in regard to Raghoba it was most expressly stated that the English were to place him at Poona as regent.

The troops embarked at Bombay for Panwel on the 23rd November, and on the 23rd December the whole force, accompanied by Raghoba and his adopted son, Anantrao, commenced ascending the Ghauts. The commissariat arrangements, however, were so bad that it took the army eleven days to perform a distance of eight miles. The dilatory preparations at Bombay had afforded Nana Farnavis and Mahadji Sindia ample time to assemble the army, Sakharam Bapu's restraint at this crisis was deemed impolitic, probably from the same cause as before—on account of the situation in which he stood with the British Government as one of the two ministers who had concluded the treaty of Purandar. A reconciliation had, therefore, been brought about, and he ostensibly resumed his office as minister. The principal part of the military arrangements were entrusted to Mahadji Sindia, Haripant Phadke and Tukaji Holkar, but they took care to place Holkar, of whom Nana was justly suspicious, in a situation which would render his junction with Raghoba extremely hazardous. The whole of the Maratha army, on the approach of the English, advanced to Talegaon.

On the 9th January the army reached Talegaon, where the Marathas made a show of resistance; but when the line advanced in order of battle they retired. Their village had been destroyed by order of Nana Farnavis, and the Committee heard that similar orders had been given for burning Chinchvad and Poona. On hearing this intelligence the Committee sunk into despondency, and although Raghunathrao earnestly begged them to defer their resolutions, they still determined upon retreating. At

eleven p.m. on 11th January, the army began secretly to retreat. The retreat had hardly commenced when the Marathas attacked them with great vigour, and on the 13th, having reached Vadgaon, the loss was found to be so great that further retreat was deemed impracticable, and Mr. Farrar, the Secretary to the Committee, was sent to negotiate with the ministers; they at first demanded the surrender of Raghunath-rao, which the Committee would have complied with, but they were saved from this disgrace by his having entered into a separate agreement with Mahadji Sindia, to whom he afterwards gave himself up. Sindia was aiming at an ascendancy which Nana Farnavis was studiously endeavouring to prevent, yet each was so necessary to the other in the Maratha empire that, although their ultimate views were at variance, their present interests were in union. The ruling party, of which Nana and Sindia were now the real authorities, insisted on the Committee entering on a treaty for the surrender of the whole territory which the Bombay Government had acquired since the death of Madhavrao Balhal, together with the revenue of Surat and Broach. The Committee, thinking that there was an impossibility of retreat, but wishing to temporize, desired Mr. Farrar to inform the ministers that they had no power to enter into any treaty without the concurrence of the Supreme Government. Mahadji replied to this by saying, 'Show us the power under which you broke the former treaty.' A short time, however, had barely elapsed, when the Committee sent Mr. Holmes to Mahadji Sindia with full power to conclude a treaty.

The separate negotiation thus opened with Sindia



flattered him exceedingly and accorded most fully with his plans of policy, but no ebullitions of joy prevented his taking every advantage of the English, as far as was consistent with the control he now had and was determined to preserve over Nana Farnavis, finally it was determined that everything should be restored to the Marathas as held in 1773.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Hornby, Governor of Bombay, disavowed the validity of the Vadgaon Convention, and on the 19th February laid an elaborate minute before his Council, in which he took a view of Maratha politics and the line of conduct which he thought the most expedient for the British authorities to pursue; he, at the same time, made every preparation to improve and recruit the army.

The end he proposed to obtain was to secure a peace so as to exclude the French, and retain the territory then in possession of the English. He assumed that Sindia had an aversion to the French and a desire to make an alliance with the English, in opposition to Nana Farnavis. In this supposition Mr. Hornby was not wholly wrong; for had Nana, by any means foreign or domestic, become too powerful, Mahadji Sindia might have sought assistance from the English; but, whilst Nana Farnavis held the reins, principally by the support of Sindia's power, it was

<sup>1</sup> The Committee was obliged on the spot to send an order countermanding the advance of the Bengal troops, and Sindia's favour was purchased by a private promise to bestow on him the English share of Broach, besides a sum of forty-one thousand rupees in presents to the servants. The Committee were so completely humbled that they viewed with gratitude the kindness of Sindia in suffering the army to depart; they gave two hostages, Mr. William Gamul Farmer and Sir Charles Stewart, as a security for the performance of their engagement.

completely to the interest of the latter to uphold Nana's administration. All these suggestions were submitted to the Supreme Government.

In regard to the alliance with Sindia, the Governor-General was disposed to concur in opinion with Mr. Hornby in supposing that Sindia had some secret design of connecting himself with the English. General Goddard was, therefore, desired to treat separately with Sindia, in case he should at any time find him disposed to espouse the interests of the Company, but the dependency of Nana Farnavis on Mahadji Sindia was at this time best secured by war, and whilst his vakil at Bombay was professing his master's regard an attack, instigated by Sindia, was made on Bancoote with no other design than to blow the flame and excite the English to hostilities, as a further hold on Nana Farnavis, whom Sindia governed by his fears. He caused the settlement of a jaghir in Bundelkhand to be made on Raghunathrao of twelve lacs of rupees, of which he became the guarantee on behalf of Raghoba, and at the same time security to Nana for Raghoba's never molesting the Government. He had thus got the latter into his power; but the unpopularity of Raghoba made the custody of his person of little consequence as an instrument of aggrandizement. Nana Farnavis was perhaps secretly pleased to observe Sindia connecting himself with a man more likely to be shunned than followed and only dangerous as a political instrument in foreign hands. Soon after this arrangement was made, Raghoba was sent off towards his jaghir in Bundelkhand, for the purpose, as Nana believed, of being confined in the fort of Jhansi until Sindia might find it convenient to release him; but

Raghoba's usual escort, even his guns, were suffered to accompany him, whilst his troops, such as his guard, scarcely exceeded the number of his own followers. Just before Raghoba reached the Nerbada, in the latter end of May, he was secretly warned of Sindia's intentions to confine him in Jhansi ; on which, having watched his opportunity, he attacked and dispersed his guard, and fled with all speed to Broach to throw himself at the feet of his friends, the English, although he could hardly expect that they would open their arms to receive him. Although no explanation took place between Sindia and Raghoba, there is little doubt but that the whole was Mahadji Sindia's contrivance. It widened the breach between Nana and the English, but with either party it roused the fear and jealousy of one, and made him more dependent.

When Nana Farnavis required and obtained the sacrifice of his rival, Sakharam Bapu, and of Chintu Vithal, once the minister of Raghoba, it was no test of Sindia's fidelity to him ; on the contrary, his having given them up to satisfy Nana at that time is perhaps, from the artifice of his character, rather an evidence of his having been accessory to Raghoba's flight. Sakharam Bapu was hurried to Singad, and thence he was removed and thrown into the fort of Pratapgad ; a circumstance which leads to the remarkable reflections that this venerable man, after sharing the vicissitude and privations and of grandeur, of toil and triumph, which a leader in the camps and courts of a great empire must ever experience, now looked down on a scene far more awful to a mind in his situation than the tremendous abyss of four thousand feet of black rugged rock, which formed the western wall of his prison ;

for from Pratapgad, on the eastern side, he saw the spot where, one hundred and twenty years before, his ancestor, Gopinath Vakil, pledged to Sivaji the treacherous oath which betrayed his master, Afzul Khan, to the sword of the murderer. But Sakharam's death scene was not closed in Pratapgad. The cautious jealousy of Nana Farnavis removed him secretly from one place and another, to prevent rescue or insurrection; and the once great Sakharam Bapu perished miserably in Raigad. Chintu Vithal's life also was shortened; he died in some hill fort from the effects of unwholesome food and harsh treatment. The fugitive, Raghoba, was received, though at first scarcely welcomed, by the English, and on the 12th June, accompanied by his sons, Amritrao and Bajirao, the latter a child four years old, visited General Goddard in his camp, from whom he received an allowance of fifty thousand rupees a month, which the Governor-General and Council totally disapproved. General Goddard had been sufficiently prudent to avoid entering on any terms of alliance with Raghoba; it was considered very impolitic to attempt forcing a person into the Maratha Government, to whom the whole nation had manifested indifference or aversion; and therefore, acting upon the terms of the Purandar treaty, as if all accommodation was rejected, the English, in support of their national honour, could do no less than engage in the war as principals. The negotiations between General Goddard and Nana Farnavis continued for several months, but towards the end of the monsoon Goddard communicated to the Bombay Government some intelligence he had heard of a general confederacy of the Marathas, Hyder, and Nizam Ali against

the English, on whom, it was said, they meditated an attack in all the three Presidencies. Prior to the receipt of this information, General Goddard had sent to demand implicit answers from Nana Farnavis. This was obtained sooner than was expected, by his declaring that the surrender of Salsette and the person of Raghoba were preliminaries to any treaty which the English might wish to conclude with the Maratha State.

When General Goddard obtained this answer from Nana Farnavis he immediately started for Bombay to consult the Government regarding an alliance with Fateh Singh Gaikwar, and arrived in Bombay on the 1st November; his principal motive, however, was to urge despatch in preparing and sending off a reinforcement to the army.

The Bombay Government acceded to his desire, and a detachment, under Colonel Hartley, was speedily embarked for Guzerat. General Goddard, on his return to Surat, dismissed the vakil of Nana Farnavis, put his army in a state of readiness, and opened negotiations with Fateh Singh Gaikwar. Fateh Singh, on the receipt of the proposal, attempted to procrastinate, and showed every disposition to evade a definite engagement with the English. General Goddard, therefore, on the 1st January, put his army in motion and advanced to the northward. It is unnecessary to continue the relation of the campaign in Guzerat further than to mention that on the 13th February the capital of Guzerat was attacked and carried by assault with the utmost gallantry.

We now proceed to relate what took place subsequently to the escape of Raghoba. After the escape

of Raghoba there was some coolness between Sindia and Nana, but they were speedily reconciled ; and, although Mahadji did not wish to quit the capital at that time, yet, as he had Nana under command by causing him to apprehend an alliance with the English, he at last consented to oppose Goddard in Guzerat ; and it is necessary to apprize the reader that Nana Farnavis was without reserve informed of all the subsequent proceedings of Sindia. A report, however, was spread of Sindia's being on the eve of a rupture with Nana, which was speedily followed by another report of his intentions to make a desperate effort to recover possession of Raghoba's person by assaulting Surat.

Raghunathrao had remained in the city of Surat when General Goddard took the field, a circumstance which Mahadji did not comprehend and may have disconcerted the plan he was hatching. Sindia, although he took the field on the 29th, so far from evincing hostile intentions, professed the greatest friendship for the English. The two hostages, Mr. Farrar and Lieutenant Stewart, who had been given up to them on the Treaty at Surat and whom he had since treated with great hospitality, were restored to liberty, and joined General Goddard on the evening of 9th March.

This act of kindness was followed by the appearance of Vakil Abaji Sabaji, who gave assurances of his master's friendship for the English and enmity to Nana Farnavis, declaring that his master had experienced the greatest ingratitude and treachery from the latter. But Goddard, without being drawn into making proposals for an alliance, which (allowing Sindia to have been sincere) would have afforded him a grand

advantage, made suitable answers by an assurance of reciprocal regard on the part of the English ; but with regard to the terms of a treaty he left Sindia to be the judge of what would prove mutually advantageous, as the British Government in India had no other view than a permanent peace, which they were determined to obtain on terms honourable, defined, and secure.

Sindia's object was to waste time in negotiation and keep Goddard inactive during the fair season ; but Indian chicane is no match for European honesty. General Goddard was sincere in assuring Sindia of his desire for peace, but he limited the negotiation to a certain time, and allowed Sindia three days, from the time his vakil quitted the British camp, to offer his proposals. Accordingly on 16th March the vakil returned and submitted the following terms from his master : that formerly, when Raghoba was at Talegaon after the return of the English army to Bombay, an agreement had been entered into between him and Sindia, and written engagements mutually exchanged for its performance, when the former consented to relinquish all claims to any share in the administration at Poona, and to retire towards Jhansi, where he should receive an allowance of twelve lacs of rupees per annum ; that the sicca should remain in the name of the young Peshwa, Madhavrao Narayan ; and that Bajirao, the son of Raghoba, should be appointed Peshwa's Diwan, but, as he was too young to transact the business of office himself, being only four years of age, the care and management of it should be left entirely to Sindia. He now, therefore, proposed that Raghoba should retire to Jhansi and that the young Bajirao should accompany him to Poona.

Such were his proposals without declaring himself further regarding the English, whose part he still reserved for Goddard to propose; but General Goddard merely objected to what was wrong; declared that no force should be put on Raghoba's inclinations, that he had sought the protection of the English and that his quitting it should be voluntary, that even if the English did allow Sindia the whole power of the State, Sindia on his part, in the name of the Peshwa, should previously consent to certain conditions favourable to British interests. The negotiation was brought to a close within seven days, which Sindia probably intended to have spun into as many months, when it would have been his study to balance Brahmin fears and jealousy against the policy of the English, and that sanguine temperament of Europeans which is usually accompanied by credulity.

Mahadji Sindia continued to profess his friendly regard, but, perceiving that Goddard was not to be duped, opened negotiations with Fateh Singh Gaikwar, and Goddard had now no other desire than to bring on an action which the Marathas carefully avoided; this at last took place at Pavangarh; here the Marathas were defeated. It not being deemed advisable at that period to follow up the pursuit of Sindia, Colonel Hartley was ordered, at the request of the Bombay Government, to reinforce the army of the Konkan.

The greater part of the inhabitants of Bombay depending on the neighbouring continent for supplies of provisions, it was necessary to prevent the cutting off of such supplies by the Marathas by occupying several posts. The principal place captured for this



purpose was the town of Kalyan, on which Nana Farnavis set a high value ; he, therefore, assembled a large force for the purpose of recovering it and driving the English from the continent. A post on the Ghaut was attacked and captured. The Marathas, elated at this success, advanced on Kalyan, which was, however, defended in the most obstinate manner. Fortunately, Colonel Hartley arrived with his force on the 25th May and obliged the Marathas to retire. They subsequently evacuated the Konkan altogether, and left the British unmolested during the remainder of the fair season. General Goddard moved on to the Nerbada, in order to place his troops in convenient stations during the approaching rains. In the Konkan, after the monsoon had set in, the Marathas in small parties returned to molest the different posts, but with no great success.

As soon as the season opened, General Goddard, having brought down his force by sea to Salsette, advanced to invest Bassein, and arrived before it on the 13th November. Trenches were opened and the first battery completed on the 18th of the same month. Bassein immediately surrendered on the 11th of the following month, although Nana Farnavis and Haripant used every endeavour to raise the siege and recover the Konkan. On the 10th December the united Maratha force, amounting to twenty thousand men, attacked the Bombay Division, both in front and rear consecutively, but were each time steadily repulsed, and, having again attacked on the 12th, were defeated with great slaughter ; and with the loss of two of their most gallant leaders, who were slain, they retreated precipitately, greatly dispirited by their heavy loss.

The reduction of Bassein and the defeat of the army in the Konkan was severely felt by Nana Farnavis. On the 13th December a letter was received from Bengal by the Bombay Government, dated the 9th October, informing them that it was the intention of the Supreme Government to make peace with the Marathas; ordering that, on the Peshwa's intimation that he had ordered a cessation of hostilities, they also were to desist in like manner; but until such an intimation was received they were urged to prosecute the war with the utmost vigour. Subsequent to this dispatch, however, news of Colonel Baillie's<sup>1</sup> disastrous defeat was received; it was, therefore, determined to carry on the war until some satisfactory proposal should be received from the Peshwa's Government. On the 18th January, Goddard, having obliged the fort

<sup>1</sup> On the 6th September, 1780, Colonel Baillie was attacked by ten thousand men, the flower of Hyder's force, whom he forced to retreat, leaving six hundred dead on the field. On the 8th he was joined by a reinforcement under the command of Lieut.-Colonel Fletcher. Baillie commenced his march at twelve o'clock at night, three hours afterwards his advanced guard was attacked by the enemy's European infantry, who were placed in a grove upon the side of the road, and at the same time the horse rushed on the charge. He repulsed them in very attack, and they had already begun to despair of success, when, three of his tumbrils blowing up, in the midst of the confusion produced by the accident and his ammunition being expended, they made another furious charge, broke his ranks and cut them to pieces, nor did they cease the carnage after the few, who still survived, had thrown down their arms. Lieut.-Colonel Fletcher, holding up his handkerchief on the point of his sword, as a signal for quarter, was wounded in the arm, and, wrapping the handkerchief round it, he received a cut across the belly—his bowels dropped out, and he fell dead from his horse.

of Arnal to surrender, advanced towards the passes of the mountains. Haripant, then in the Konkan, retired to Poona, but took the precaution of leaving the Bhore Ghaut guarded. It was gallantly attacked and carried by a party of the Bengal troops on the 8th February, who afterwards encamped at Khandala, where they were joined by the greater part of the force, though Goddard, with the headquarters, remained below the Ghaut.

The appearance of this force gave Nana Farnavis no alarm, for his political boldness was contrasted in an extraordinary, but amongst Brahmins by no means a singular, manner with his personal timidity, and the only effects produced on him by the advance to the Ghauts were additional efforts to increase the army, and the most vigorous preparations for rendering the country a desert and Poona a ruin. He, however, endeavoured to amuse General Goddard by sending an unauthorized agent to treat with him, which induced him to make overtures on the terms proposed through Mudaji Bhonsle, which were offered by the Governor-General early in October, before the news of Hyder's attack on Arcot had arrived, and which consequently were broken off; of these Nana affected ignorance; Goddard sent him a copy of the terms he admitted, in which Hyder Ali, the ally of the Maratha State, was not included (which, after Hyder's attack and destruction of Colonel Baillie's force could not, of course, be listened to). Nana's own words were as follows: 'The copy of the proposals which you have sent has been read from beginning to end by your friend; and it is certain that the contents therein written are not properly fit for the approbation of this Government;

if you are sincere in your desire of friendship, it is incumbent on you to make proposals which shall include those persons who are at this time allied to and connected with the Council of State.' It is probable that General Goddard's own judgment disapproved of such unavailing concession; but he was urged to it by Sir Eyre Coote, then Governor of Madras.

Nana Farnavis had sent the Peshwa, now in his seventh year, to Purandar. Haripant Phadke and Tukaji Holkar commanded the main body of his army with which Nana advanced towards the Ghauts; and Parasuram Bhao Patwardhan was sent into the Konkán with a force of twelve thousand men to harass Goddard's detachment, and obstruct the communications with Bombay. It is unnecessary to carry the reader through the relation of the several operations of this campaign, but merely to relate the result, which was a treaty, concluded on the 17th May, at Salbai by Mr. David Anderson on the part of the East India Company, and by Mahadji Sindia on that of the Peshwa, Nana Farnavis, and the whole of the chiefs of the Maratha nation; Mahadji Sindia being at the same time plenipotentiary of the Peshwa. The treaty consisted of seventeen Articles, amongst which was one, that Raghunathrao was to be allowed twenty-five thousand rupees a month and to be permitted to choose a place of residence. This treaty was ratified at Calcutta on the 6th of June following, but the adjustment on the part of the Peshwa was delayed by Nana Farnavis (for reasons which will be hereafter explained) until the 24th February, 1783.

During the period that the ratification was in

suspense, the Governor-General in Council agreed to the cession of Broach to Mahadji Sindia, and that valuable district was bestowed on him in testimony of the conduct manifested by him towards the Bombay army at Vadgaon, and of his humane treatment and release of the English gentlemen, who had been delivered as hostages on that occasion.

Now to account for the long period which elapsed between the conclusion of the treaty of Salbai and its ratification by the Peshwa; as Nana Farnavis was one of the parties concerned in it, it is necessary to unfold the motives which actuated the leading parties of the Maratha State. Notwithstanding the increasing jealousy between Mahadji Sindia and Nana, and though the former sought to establish a kingdom virtually independent, and though each was desirous of extending his control over the whole Maratha nation, both continued sensible of the necessity of preserving the strength of the empire undivided. During the progress of the war with the British Government, Nana's influence and reputation had increased, while that of Sindia had diminished, yet by the treaty of Salbai, Sindia, whilst his fortunes seemed on the decline, had attained one great object of his policy, a sovereignty virtually independent, without any apparent breach of the link which bound him to the Maratha Confederacy. Although both Mahadji Sindia and Nana Farnavis were desirous of a general peace, yet each of them had secret intentions of soon breaking it in such partial instances as suited their respective aggrandizement. Nana aspired to the recovery of all the territories south of the Nerbada that had ever belonged to the Marathas, whilst Sindia projected the

re-establishment of the Maratha power in the provinces of Hindustan. Although the terms of treaty of Salbai were so much more favourable to the Marathas than any that could have been anticipated before the war between the English and Hyder broke out, yet Nana, being jealous of the prominent part taken by Sindia in the negotiation, and hoping that he might, by temporizing, recover Salsette from the English, maintained in all an appearance of steadfast alliance with Hyder, whilst to the envoys of the latter he affected to be satisfied with the treaty of Salbai, and declared that its immediate ratification by the Peshwa could only be prevented by Hyder's restoring the Maratha possessions south of the Kistna, which would ensure their co-operation; but, if not restored, the Marathas would unite with the English against him.

Nana's ulterior views, in case the pending treaty should be ratified, were hostile towards Hyder, as he, in that event, projected an offensive alliance with Nizam Ali against the usurper of Mysore, from which the English were to be carefully excluded.

With regard to Sindia's particular views of aggrandizement, in order fully to understand the reasons which operated in inducing the British Government passively to view the growth of such a power as he had acquired in Hindustan, it may be requisite to explain that Mahadji Sindia, even before his campaign against Goddard in Guzerat, had suggested a plan of attacking the English in Bengal, and when his own territory was invaded he renewed the proposal to the Peshwa, requesting that Tukaji Holkar might be sent to support the design; to the whole of this scheme Nana Farnavis at first objected, until he saw the

probability of its recalling Goddard, but he was afraid to detach Holkar towards himself ; which, for his own security, he was anxious to foment. In giving, therefore, a tardy acquiescence to Sindia's plans, he proposed, instead of Holkar's quitting Poona, that Sindia should augment his own army by a body of silladars from the Maratha country, whom he offered to assist in raising. Sindia, however, seeing that he had a much better chance of realizing his schemes by courting the favour of the English, rather than by exciting their hostility, made various excuses for declining Nana's suggestions, and the treaty of Salbai was signed and ratified (as has been already mentioned) on the 20th December, 1782, and formally exchanged on the 24th February, 1783, and the term for restoring the district on the Bombay side limited to the 24th April.<sup>1</sup> Before that date, however, an outrage was committed, which, had it happened at a time when peace was less essential to the British Government, might have occasioned the renewal of the war. The *Ranger*, a small ship of the Bombay Marine, on her voyage from Bombay to Calicut with several military officers of distinction as passengers on board, was unexpectedly attacked by the fleet of Anantrao

<sup>1</sup> After the treaty of Salbai was signed, an envoy from Hyder was permitted by the court of Poona to proceed to Sindia's camp, and Nana Farnavis, in prosecution of his own views on Salsette, which he hoped the British Government might be induced to cede in order to propitiate his favour, gave out that the Peshwa had engaged in a new treaty with Hyder to which the French were parties. But the death of Hyder, on the 7th October, 1782, had a speedy effect in deciding the measures of the Maratha minister, and the ratification of the treaty of Salbai was the immediate result.

Dhulap, the Peshwa's admiral, and after a most gallant defence, in which most of the crew and passengers were killed or wounded, she was at last overpowered and carried as a prize into Viziadurg; the prisoners were all carried into Viziadurg, and, notwithstanding the want of medical attendance or indeed the ordinary necessities, all the wounded officers recovered. This violation of the treaty produced a strong remonstrance from the British Government, and the surrender of the Peshwa's districts was suspended; but upon an apology for the outrage, and the restoration of the vessel, the terms of pacification were carried into effect.

The war, however, was not at an end, Tipu, who had succeeded his father, Hyder Ali, although he professed his acquiescence in the terms of the treaty of Salbai, continued to carry on hostilities against the English in the Madras territories; Mahadji Sindia called upon him to desist, threatening him, in case of refusal, with an immediate attack from the united armies of the English and the Marathas; Tipu, however, persisted; and, in consequence, Sindia on the 28th October concluded a treaty with the English for the purpose of enforcing compliance. It was as much the wish of Nana Farnavis as of Sindia to oblige Tipu to conform to the terms of the treaty of Salbai, in order that he might appear to the powers of India a Maratha dependent as well as tributary; but Nana's jealousy of Sindia's assumption of authority, and his own projected alliance with Nizam Ali, impeded the scheme of the league in which Sindia and the English would have borne parts so prominent. In the meantime, a separate treaty was concluded



between Tipu and the English Presidency of Fort St. George. The Governor-General had authorized the Madras Government to negotiate a treaty, of which that of Salbai was to be the basis; but instead of following their instructions, from an over anxiety to terminate the troubles and distresses in which they found themselves involved, they were led into a train of most injudicious proceedings; in the course of which they were systematically insulted by Tipu; their representatives treated with indignity; and the British nation held up as supplicants for peace, and finally, on the 11th March, the treaty of Mangalore was signed, in which every allusion to the treaty of Salbai was omitted, a circumstance than which nothing could have been more gratifying to Tipu, or more offensive to the Marathas. The strongest disapprobation of his omission and of many other points of that humiliating pacification was expressed by the Governor-General, and he was only prevented from disavowing it and annulling it by the confusion that must have resulted to the Company's affairs, in consequence of a fulfilment of part of the terms before it could have been possible to obtain their ratification.

The Poona Government affected to disbelieve that any treaty could be settled without their concurrence, and declared that such an agreement would be a violation of the treaty of Salbai; but Mr. Hastings had previously apprized Mahadji Sindia of the instructions sent to the Madras Government, and he now explained the departure from his orders of which that Government had been guilty, stating, likewise, some part of the reasons which had induced him to ratify their

proceedings; in consequence of which, as the leading parties in the Maratha State were anxious to prosecute their respective views, there was little difficulty in reconciling them to a measure which had become irrevocable.

Subsequently, the first proceeding of Nana Farnavis was a formal demand from Tipu for his arrears of tribute; Tipu admitted the justice of the demand, but offered various excuses for not immediately complying with it.

At the same time that the demand was made of Tipu, a like formal application was preferred to Nizam Ali for the outstanding Maratha claims to chauth and sardeshmukhi within his territory. But a secret understanding existed between the Courts of Poona and Hyderabad—they were on the best terms, insomuch that a short time previous to making this demand Nana Farnavis had assisted the latter State to suppress a formidable rebellion. Nizam Ali, in reply to his application, proposed, as had been secretly agreed (in order to cover their designs on Tipu), to hold a conference with the Poona minister on the frontier; accordingly each of the parties, attended by a large army, set out from their capitals, and in the month of June had a meeting at Etgir, near the junction of the Bhima and Kistna. Many important points regarding their mutual claims were discussed, some of which had existed for a long period, but it was agreed that such of the Maratha Thanas as had been displaced by Nizam Ali since 1774, should be re-established in the Moghul territory; and the claims for chauth and sardeshmukhi of the two last seasons should be put in immediate train for liquidation,

adopting as a rule in all cases the practice usual in the time of Madhavrao Balhal; where any considerable doubt existed, the demands were to lie over until a general settlement could be made upon the admitted claims in the time of Nizam-ul-Mulk, according to which Nizam Ali bound himself to pay up all arrears.

Thus far the result of this conference was publicly made known, but the principal object, as already alluded to, was an offensive alliance against Tipu for the recovery of the districts which both states had lost by the encroachment of Mysore. Nizam Ali, who had over-estimated the value of his own alliance, demanded, as a preliminary article of the agreement, the restoration of Ahmednagar and Bijapur. Nana Farnavis agreed to give up Bijapur after they should recover the territory north of the Tungabadhra, but after a prolonged discussion, neither party being well satisfied, nor as yet by any means prepared to prosecute their scheme to the verge of a rupture, the conference terminated in a general treaty of alliance, the particulars of which were to be specified as soon as they found themselves prepared to enter upon its execution. After levying the tribute due by the Naik of Sorapur, both parties returned to their respective capitals in July, and Nana Farnavis took the opportunity of endeavouring to possess himself of the ever coveted island of Janjira, but the mediation of the British Government prevented the attack until events of greater moment diverted all immediate designs from the Sidhi. Nizam Ali had scarcely reached his capital when Tipu, probably apprized of what had taken place, with pre-meditated insult, set up some absurd pretensions to the sovereignty of Bijapur, and called on Nizam Ali to

adopt his standard of weights and measures. Nizam Ali took little pains to obtain an explanation until the month of October, when Tipu was said to have taken the field for the purpose of invading that part of the Moghul territory which lay south of the Kistna. An envoy was immediately despatched to Tipu's camp, for the purpose of temporizing, and another to Poona in order to hasten the operations of the projected alliance. Nana Farnavis was not only unprepared, but various affairs of internal government prevented him at that moment from supporting his ally. Nizam Ali, therefore, was glad to prevent hostilities through his envoy at Seringapatam, which he effected not so much by any forbearance of Tipu as by want of his preparations for war.

The principal reason which induced Nana Farnavis to suspend the design he had so long contemplated, was the reported progress of a conspiracy, said to have for its object the deposition of Madhavrao Narayan, and the elevation of Bajirao, the son of the late Raghunathrao, to the Peshwa's masnad. Raghunathrao, after the treaty of Salbai was ratified, seeing no other alternative, accepted the terms therein specified, and fixed on Kopergaon, on the banks of the Godavery, as his place of residence. He only survived this last humiliation a few months. His widow, Anandibai, was pregnant at the time of his death, and shortly after, in April, gave birth to a son, Chimmaji Appa. Bajirao, at the period of his father's death, had scarcely completed his ninth year; but the partisans of Raghunathrao, and many others who were dissatisfied with the existing government, began to stir up a faction in his favour. It is creditable to Nana Farnavis that, in

adopting measures for smothering these indications which were soon accomplished, he placed no additional restraint on the family at Kopergaon. But they naturally became objects of his suspicion; mutual distrust was the consequence, and hatred grew up between Nana Farnavis and the sons of Raghunathrao. Mahadji Sindia was said to have been the secret fomentor of the intrigues to which we have alluded, and from his usual policy of keeping Nana in perpetual alarm there is ground to suspect his connivance; but he could have had no design of supporting such a faction, as he was at the time fully occupied in the accomplishment of those views on the imperial territory, and events soon took place which suddenly elevated him to the pinnacle of his ambition.

On the 22nd October Mahadji Sindia made a treaty with the Emperor of Delhi which completely invested him with full authority, and placed him in a situation which he had only hoped to attain at some remote period. He refused the office of Amir-ul-Umra, but with his usual sagacity obtained for the Peshwa that Vakil-ul-Mutlag, or supreme deputy, a dignity first conferred on the great Nizam-ul-Mulk by Mahomed Shah, and Sindia, reversing the domestic policy of the Brahmins, who always endeavour to be first in power but second in name, secured for himself the appointment of deputy to the Peshwa, so that he thus held by authority the executive power in Hindustan; and a rank which, if he should be able and desirous of asserting it, would supersede that of all ministers at the Court of the Peshwa. Holkar and Nana Farnavis were both jealous of his elevation, and Sindia at no period of his career was so little on his

guard to prevent that jealousy from being turned against him. Nana had often expressed a wish to have a British Resident at the Peshwa's Court, and Mr. Charles Malet was selected for that important mission. Although no part of the treaty of Salbai precluded the British Government from sending an envoy to Poona, yet, as considerable delicacy was due to Sindia, it was desirable that he should give his assent to the appointment, and it was supposed that this would be best obtained by Mr. Malet's proceeding in person to Sindia's camp; but the latter was too sagacious not to perceive the loss of influence which Mr. Malet's mission<sup>1</sup> would occasion him. He observed that, after having been entrusted for three years with the management of the English affairs at the Court of

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Malet reached the camp of Sindia, *via* Agra, on the 17th May, where he met Mr. Anderson with two chiefs and a large party of Mahadji's cavalry; on the 20th, the ceremonials being settled, he paid his formal visit to Sindia, who manifested an indisposition to receive him in the character of Resident at Poona.

The Maratha chief was connected with the Company by a double tie, first as a distinct ally by a separate treaty, and next as a member of the Maratha empire, and as such was included in the general alliance with that state. It was, therefore, deemed most extraordinary that he should wish to confine all communications with Poona through himself. If, as a member of the Maratha empire, and in that character as mediator of the peace, he meant to engross the whole of the English negotiations at eight hundred miles from the scene of business, it was felt to be absurd, exclusive of the impossibility of submitting to dictation by a member of the Maratha Government, or of encountering his prejudices, passions, and jealousies, and numberless intrigues; besides pampering the ambition and promoting the grandeur of a chieftain already too powerful.

Poona, the appointment of a political agent of the own would necessarily impress the chiefs of the Deccan with an idea that the British Government was dissatisfied with his conduct and had revoked the confidence it had previously reposed.

But these objections, however plausible, were not of sufficient weight to dissuade Mr. McPherson, who had lately succeeded to the temporary charge of the Supreme Government, from the measures which he deemed it necessary to adopt. It was determined that Mr. Malet should proceed as envoy to the Court of Poona; but before the arrangement was finally settled, events had taken place to the southward which rendered the appointment still more essential to the interests of the British Government.

Tipu, in assuming a right to the province of Bidar and in threatening to attack the territory of Nizam Ali, had probably no other intention than to show the members of the Confederacy, which he suspected was formed against himself, that he was well prepared to resist as they to prosecute the hostility meditated. After the subsequent accommodation with Nizam Ali both parties understood that the adjustment was merely temporary; Tipu continued to discipline his army and to prepare his forts with increased exertions; and, when the crisis approached, the security of the frontier garrisons became a principal object of his attention. The fort and district of Nargund, situated at about twelve miles south of the Malprabha, belonged to Brahmin Desai, and had fallen under Hyder with the other Maratha possessions south of the Kistna in 1777. This district had only been subject to the payment of a moderate tribute, and Hyder, satisfied with the

Desai's submission, enacted nothing more than had usually been paid to the Marathas. Tipu, however, soon after his father's death had increased the demand, with which the Desai refused compliance, but, concluding that it would be eventually enforced, he secretly claimed the protection of the Peshwa, whose subject he declared himself to be; and equally as secretly, through the agency of an Englishman in his service, named Yoon, applied to the Bombay Government for the aid of some regular troops, representing that he was an independent Raja willing to co-operate in the invasion of Tipu's dominions. This application to Bombay was made prior to the treaty of Mangalore, but, as no notice was taken of his overtures, the Desai continued to court the protection of the minister at Poona and the friendship of the powerful family of the Patwardhan, with whom he is said to have been connected. When Tipu, therefore, pressed his demand, Nana Farnavis interposed, and declared that he had no right to exact more than the ordinary tribute, 'That Jaghirdars, on the transfer of districts, were liable to no additional payments, and that the rights of Sevasthanes,<sup>1</sup> who had been guilty of no treason towards the State to which they owed allegiance, had been invariably respected'; Tipu replied, that he had a right to levy what he liked from his own subjects, and soon after despatched two separate bodies of troops to enforce demands far beyond the Desai's ability to pay, which was, in other words, an order to reduce his forts.

The siege of Nargund commenced in the month of March; and a body of Marathas, under Ganeshpant

<sup>1</sup> Brahmins who possess old hereditary jaghirs are so styled.



and Parasuram Bhao Patwardhan, advanced to its relief. Tipu's vakils still remained at Poona, and Nana Farnavis had sent orders to the Maratha commander not to precipitate hostilities; but by the time they arrived in the neighbourhood of Nargund Tipu's officers had been compelled, from want of water, to raise the siege and encamp at some distance; they, however, sent in derision a message to the Brahmin commanders, intimating that they had withdrawn their troops from respect to their master the Peshwa. Fired at this insult, the Marathas rode on to their camp, drove in their outposts, and pressed forward until repulsed by two of Tipu's regular battalions supported by cavalry, when they retired.

This premature attack was contrary to the orders of Nana Farnavis; but as it had been made he immediately directed Tukaji Holkar, with a considerable force, to support Ganeshpant and Parasuram Bhao, though he at the same time intimated to Tipu his concern regarding the quarrel, and his desire for accommodation. Tipu, whose motives will become apparent, expressed an equal readiness to meet his wishes, and even offered to pay two years' tribute provided his right of sovereignty was recognized in regard to Nargund. Nana Farnavis, by the advice of Nizam Ali, and on assurance that submission was all that was required from the Desai, acceded to Tipu's proposal, and everything appeared to be settled except the mode of payment, for which a period of twenty-seven days was allowed, and the Maratha army recrossed the Kistna. Tipu, however, had practised a gross deception—Nargund, left to its fate, submitted, and the terms offered to the unfortunate Desai were

not observed; after evacuating the fort he and his family were treacherously seized, his daughter was reserved for the Sultan's seraglio, and the rest were immured in Kabuldurg, where they perished.

The fort of Kittur, which also belonged to a tributary Desai, had likewise been seized, and both that place and Nargund, before the opening of the season, were occupied by strong garrisons of the Sultan's troops. To crown these acts, as if he designed to render himself as odious as possible to the Marathas, Tipu forcibly circumcised many of the Hindu inhabitants of the territory south of the Kistna; and ten thousand Brahmins destroyed themselves to avoid the detested violation.

Nana Farnavis very soon found that he had been duped by Tipu, and even began to doubt how far he might rely on the co-operation of Nizam Ali; the inefficient state of the Moghul army had not escaped his observations when they met at Etgir, and he was alarmed by accounts of the excellent state of discipline to which Tipu's battalions had attained; these circumstances, combined with a report of Tipu's having entered into an alliance with the French, had the effect of overcoming his reluctance to calling in the British troops. But, as Nana imagined, the English would join in an offensive alliance against Tipu on almost any terms, and, being solicitous not to pledge himself so far as to prevent his eventually receding, the overtures to Mr. Boddam, Governor of Bombay, were made with much caution. In the month of July he sent an agent to that Presidency, offering, on the part of the Peshwa, to give up to the Company any two of Tipu's seaports on the

Malabar Coast, on condition of being assisted with a body of troops to co-operate in the reduction of the territory. Mr. Boddam received the proposal without expressing the least surprise at the inadequacy of the terms, and referred Nana Farnavis to the Supreme Government with an unfeigned indifference which could not escape the quick-sighted envoy, and from which Nana began to change his opinion of the English policy. Although Nana Farnavis sent a private agent of his own to Calcutta, it was necessary to prosecute the negotiations through Mahadji Sindia, whilst there was no British Resident at the Peshwa's Court. Sindia immediately applied to the Governor-General through Lieutenant James Anderson, then Resident and envoy in his camp, informed him of the probability of a rupture between the Peshwa and Tipu, and artfully assumed, as a matter of course, that the English would afford every assistance, as by the treaty of Salbai the friends and enemies of the Marathas and English were mutual. He added that the Peshwa was sure of the co-operation of Nizam Ali, that the terms of the alliance were that each state should recover its lost territory, and of any new acquisitions there should be an equal participation. Mr. McPherson, in reply, observed that the treaty of Salbai did not stipulate that the friends and enemies of the state should be mutual, but that neither party should afford assistance to the enemies of the other, and that, by the treaty of Mangalore, the English were bound not to assist the enemies of Tipu. Mr. McPherson, in declining the alliance, however, made strong professions of friendship towards the Marathas, hinted at some reasons for dissatisfaction with Tipu on the part of the British

Government, in consequence of his not having fulfilled all the stipulations of the treaty of Mangalore, and concluded by assuring Sindia that, in case of any reverses, the British Government would not suffer the Marathas to be overpowered. Nana Farnavis, the less solicitous the Governor-General appeared, became the more anxious to obtain the co-operation of the English, and he urged it the more in consequence of a new treaty, supposed to have been concluded between Tipu and the French. At last, either in despair of obtaining the aid of the English or in order to quicken their decision, he made overtures to the Portuguese, by whom he was promised assistance.

It is certain that Nana believed in the existence of this new treaty between Tipu and the French, as the Maratha's envoy at Pondicherry publicly remonstrated with the French Governor, and accused him thereby of having violated the promise of the King of France to the Peshwa. The French Governor denied the existence of such a treaty, and, as a proof of what he alleged, proposed a closer connection with the Peshwa, a circumstance which is said to have greatly offended Tipu, who was already jealous of the high and independent tone assumed by his French friends. The French envoy at Poona was treated with much attention, and it was believed that the Peshwa's Government had agreed to cede Revadanda to that nation on condition of their not assisting Tipu; these negotiations showed more than ever the necessity of appointing a British Resident at Poona, and Mr. Malet, then in Calcutta, was instructed to repair to Bombay and there await an invitation from the Peshwa to repair to his

capital. In the meantime the army was assembled at Poona for the purpose of invading Tipu's territory, and Mr. McPherson offered to send three battalions to assist in the defence of the Maratha country, provided they were not employed within Tipu's boundary; but as Nana's views extended to conquest he did not contemplate defence, and therefore rejected the proposal.

The periodical rains were this year of unusual duration, and the Maratha army, under Haripant Phadke, did not quit Poona until about the 1st of December. The troops advanced towards the eastern frontier for the purpose of forming a junction with Mudaji Bhonsle and Nizam Ali; Mudaji showed himself to have a sincere desire to connect himself with the head of the Poona State, and in the name of his son, Raghoji, entered on a new agreement, promising to adhere strictly to what had been framed by Madhavrao and Jankoji in 1769. He pledged himself particularly never to assist the English against the Peshwa's Government, and promised to co-operate in the expected war with Tipu, for which purpose he was now advancing. Nana Farnavis followed the army for the purpose of conferring with Nizam Ali, and overtook Haripant at Pandharpur, whence they moved down the right bank of the Bhima, and were joined by the Moghul troops near the spot, where the interview took place during the preceding season. It was now resolved to reduce the whole of Tipu's territories and to divide the conquest into six equal parts, of which Nizam Ali was to receive two, the Peshwa two, and Sindia and Holkar two shares between them. It was further agreed that their first

efforts should be directed to the recovery of the Maratha districts between the Kistna and Tungabhadra. The main body of the confederate army was immediately put in motion towards Badami, and, after having battered it for twenty days without causing a practicable breach, it was carried by escalade on the 20th May. After the fall of Badami, Nana Farnavis returned to Poona and Haripant was left to prosecute the war.

In the feeble operations that followed neither party could boast of much advantage, and the confederates were surprised by Tipu suddenly tendering proposals of a peace, the motives for which they could not account for; he was sincere however, and a treaty of peace was concluded in April.

The Marathas obtained the cession of Badami, Kittur and Nargund, and the other towns and districts reduced by them were restored to Tipu. Tipu also agreed to pay forty-five lacs of tribute, thirty of which were immediately produced and the remainder promised at the expiration of a year. Tipu's motives for acceding to so disadvantageous a pacification have been justly imputed to his apprehension that the English were about to take part against him. Mr. Malet had not only been invited to Poona as Resident, but at the request of Nana Farnavis he had joined him at Badami, a circumstance which Tipu conceived bespoke a very intimate connection, but the acting Governor-General was studious to allay any alarm it might create, and had partly succeeded. Shortly afterwards however, in September, 1786, Lord Cornwallis, having assumed charge of the Supreme Government, addressed letters to the Peshwa and Nizam Ali, in which he expressly

intimated his determination to take no part in the between the confederates and Tipu Sultan; yet state of military efficiency in which it became immediate care of the new Governor-General to pl all the Presidencies, occasioned a bustle and appar preparation which seemed to have convinced T that the designs of the English were decidedly host and may not only account for his earnestness terminate the war with the confederates, but aff some reason for that rancorous hostility, which him to persevere in schemes for annihilating power of the British nation in India.

The appointment of a Resident at the Peshwa Court was not more a cause of alarm to Tipu than jealousy to Mahadji Sindia. A tardy acquiescence obtained from the latter to the measure, and in order to reconcile him to it as much as possible Mr. M was instructed to send his dispatches to the Supreme Government through the Resident for the purpose of being submitted for Sindia's information obtaining his opinions, but Sindia was at this period and for several years afterwards, too much occupied with his own vast projects in Hindustan to be either to prevent the English from establishing their influence in Poona, or to direct much of his attention to the affairs of the Deccan.

Sindia, under the sanction of the Emperor's name had preferred a claim for tribute on the Rajputs had taken the field to enforce the same, but, finding himself worsted by the Rajputs, was obliged to retreat towards Gwalior. In his distresses he often written to Nana Farnavis for troops, now again wrote that, although he by no means

considered his own affairs desperate, yet he had reason to believe the English were about to form an alliance with the Emperor of Delhi and the Rajputs; he, therefore, submitted to his consideration the danger that must ensue to the whole Maratha empire, by allowing the English to establish their sway over the provinces of Hindustan, and to gain such an influence as they must acquire, if assisted by the weight of the imperial name. He strongly disavowed feeling of jealousy, and called on Nana, if such did exist towards himself, to erase it from his mind, to ask Holkar, Haripant, and Parasuram Bhao, if he had ever interfered with their views, and if they had not seen that all his endeavours tended to the aggrandizement of the empire. 'We serve,' continued Sindia, 'a common master, let our exertions be directed to the common cause; if you personally entertain jealousy of me, ask yourself who supported you against the factions of Moroba, and put your rival, Sakharam Bapu, into your power—who suppressed the insurrection of the pretended Sadashivrao Bhao—beat the English at Talegaon—maintained a great share of the war against them and concluded an advantageous peace? Think of the services, banish suspicion, and silence calumny. Who are our mutual enemies? Let the cause of the Maratha nation be upheld in Hindustan, and prevent our empire from being disunited and overthrown.' These observations, though incorrect with regard to any alliance thus meditated by the English, carried much truth in them, but the grand aim of Nana Farnavis was to cement the Maratha Confederacy under the authority of the Peshwa, and the whole conduct of Sindia had so fully proved that his views were directed



to independence, if not supremacy in the empire, that Nana, however unwilling to relinquish Maratha claims in Hindustan, hesitated as to the extent and mode of reinforcing Sindia's army. A body of troops had been held in readiness under Ali Bahadur<sup>1</sup> even prior to Sindia's retreat, but Nana wished to employ them in making a distinct settlement with the Rajput States in the name of the Peshwa, for the purpose of extending the Maratha influence, without confirming the power of a rival of such inordinate ambition.

It is supposed by some of his countrymen that Nana had some communications with the Raja of Jaipur for the purpose of preserving the Hindu power, but with a view also of controlling Sindia. The moderation shown by the Rajputs in not molesting Sindia's retreat, is adduced as a proof of his conjecture, and without an absolute rupture with Sindia, which was justly considered ruinous to the empire, Nana saw no means of attaining the ascendancy that he desired. Besides the difficulties arising from these considerations, some fresh acts of hostility on the part of Tipu rendered him averse to detach troops from the Deccan. Sindia, however, whilst he urged these applications at Poona, was using every exertion to retrieve his affairs by his own resources.

At the period when Sindia retreated to Gwalior, we have observed that one reason that prevented Nana Farnavis from supporting him with troops from the Deccan proceeded from fresh aggressions on the part of Tipu; in fact, the latter scarcely permitted Haripant to recross the Kistna, when he retook Kittur,

<sup>1</sup> Son of Shamsher Bahadur, and grandson of the great Bajirao.

and an army assembled at Bednur threatened a descent on the Maratha territories in the Konkan. As often happens with respect to the capricious conduct of the natives of India, it is difficult to reconcile this procedure with the reasons which had so recently induced Tipu to tender hasty proposals of peace. Some of the English, from various rumours then in circulation, concluded that it was a deception contrived with the consent of Nana Farnavis preparatory to a general confederacy against the English, in which the Marathas, Nizam Ali, Tipu, and the French had become parties. In regard to the Marathas, there was no foundation for this supposition; but there was reason to believe that Tipu had revived his engagements with the French, and that his designs were more hostile to the British than to the Marathas; but he wished to conceal his real object until he could prepare his army and obtain effectual assistance from France. Nana Farnavis believed that the invasion of the Maratha territories was his chief object, and in the end of the year 1787, proposed to the Governor-General, Lord Cornwallis, through Mr. Malet, to form on the part of the Peshwa a defensive alliance with the English, in order to control the overbearing and ambitious spirit of Tipu. Lord Cornwallis, although impressed with a belief of the great importance of this offer as essential to the safety of British India, was prohibited by Act of Parliament from accepting it, until Tipu should break through his engagements by some unequivocal act or declaration of hostility; in declining it, therefore, he instructed Mr. Malet to offer general assurances of the sincere desire of the Governor-General to cultivate the friendship of the Peshwa's Government.

In 1788 it was confidently reported that Tipu was engaged in hostile machinations; that an attack made on Tellicherry by the Raja of Chinchore was at his instigation; and that he meditated the subjugation of territories of the Raja of Travancore, an ally of the British, which formed an important preliminary to the conquest of the British settlements in the south of India. Captain Kennaway, who had been chosen political agent by the Governor-General, to obtain from Nizam Ali the cession of Guntur, which had been ceded by Nizam Ali by treaty concluded in 1768, was instructed to confine his immediate communications to general expressions of the Governor-General's wish to maintain the most amicable understanding with the Subah of the Deccan in all affairs that might arise requiring adjustment, but soon after, as appearances bespoke no immediate hostility on the part of Tipu, and Nizam Ali expressed his willingness to settle everything with the British Government in an equitable manner, the Governor-General wrote him a letter which he declared to be equally binding as a treaty, in which he promised that, should the English at any future period obtain possession of the territory in question, they would then perform their engagements to him and the Marathas. This promise certainly implied, at least, an eventual intention of subduing Tipu, and Tipu considered it as a treaty of offensive alliance against him. He was now at less pains to conceal his intended invasion of Travancore, and his attack on the lines on the 29th December was considered to be a declaration of war.

Nana Farnavis no sooner heard of it than he made specific proposals to the Governor-General, through

Mr. Malet, in the name both of his master and of Nizam Ali, which, with slight modifications, were accepted.

A preliminary agreement was settled on the 29th March, and a treaty, offensive and defensive, was concluded at Poona on the 1st June, between Mr. Malet on the part of the Company, and Nana Farnavis on the part of the Peshwa and Nizam Ali, by which these native powers stipulated to attack Tipu's northern possessions before and during the rains with an army of twenty-five thousand horse, and reduce as much as possible of his territory; that, after the rains, they should act against Tipu with their utmost means, and in case the Governor-General should require the aid of ten thousand horse to co-operate with the English army, that number was also to be furnished within one month from the time of their being demanded, but maintained at the expense of the Company's Government.<sup>1</sup>

The first campaign of the English against Tipu in this war was conducted by General Medows; it commenced on the 26th May, 1790, and terminated by the return of the army to Madras on the 27th January of the following year. The advantages obtained were

<sup>1</sup> Equal division was to be made of the acquisitions, should the joint forces be successful. If the Company's forces made any acquisition from the enemy previously to the commencement of hostility by the other parties, those parties were not to be entitled to any share thereof.

If certain Polygars and Zamindars, dependent on the Peshwa or Nizam, were dispossessed by any of the allies, they were to be restored; and should the Polygars or Zamindars act unfaithfully towards the Peshwa or the Nizam, the latter authorities were to treat them as might be judged proper.

by no means inconsiderable, but not so great as had been anticipated. General Medows, with the Madras Army, invaded Tipu's territory from the south, and reduced Karur, Dindigul, Coimbatore, and Palghat; whilst Colonel Hartley, with the Bombay forces, assailed it from the west, gallantly attacked and routed a strong corps in the neighbourhood of Calicut, and a reinforcement being brought from Bombay by General Sir Robert Abercrombie, who assumed the command, the province of Malabar was soon cleared of Tipu's troops.

It is unnecessary here to relate the subsequent operations against Tipu further than to notice that Lord Cornwallis, accompanied by Haripant and the son of Nizam Ali, Sikandar Jah, arrived with the combined army before Seringapatam on the 5th February, 1792, and on the following day a well-concerted and brilliant attack, made by the English on his camp, put the allies in possession of the whole of the outworks, and immediate preparations were made for commencing the siege. Tipu repeatedly endeavoured to open negotiations, but his first overtures were, for various reasons, considered inadmissible; at last, in consequence of the more becoming form and tone of his proposals, together with the intercession of the allies, particularly of Haripant, two vakils were admitted to an audience on the 14th idem; whilst in the meantime the attack and defence were going forward as if no peace had been meditated. The vakils were met by three agents appointed by the allies respectively, Sir John Kennaway on the part of Lord Cornwallis, Bachaji Raghunath on that of Haripant, and Mir Alam in behalf of Sikandar Jah.

After considerable discussion and many references by the vakils to their masters, Tipu, finally, on the 23rd February, consented to cede half the territory that he possessed before the war; to pay three crores and thirty thousand rupees; one half immediately and the rest in three equal instalments within a year; to release all prisoners made so from the time of Hyder Ali, and to deliver two of his sons as hostages for the due performance of the conditions. An armistice had taken place for two days, the hostages had already arrived in the English camp, upwards of one crore of the money had been paid, and the definite treaty was on the point of conclusion, when Tipu, who appears from the first to have overlooked the circumstance, finding that the principality of Coorg was included in the list of cessions, loudly remonstrated at yielding what he termed equivalent to the surrender of one of the gates of Seringapatam. Appearances indicated his determination to break the truce, but the principal measures adopted by Lord Cornwallis for renewing the siege, and his declared resolution to give up none of the advantages already secured, induced Tipu to reflect on the consequences, and finally to sign the treaty<sup>1</sup> without reference to the condition of the former dependants of Peshwa and Nizam Ali, or to that clause which secured a greater advantage to the party first in the field; the allies received an equal share of the districts ceded by Tipu, amounting annually to about forty lakhs to each.

An enquiry into the reasons which induced Lord Cornwallis to refrain from the entire subjugation of Tipu's territory, when he had every means of doing

<sup>1</sup> The final treaty was signed on the 19th March, 1792.

so, is foreign to the object of this narrative ; it is only necessary to mention that even Nana Farnavis and Parasuram Bhao, the parties in the Maratha army most inimical to Tipu, were averse to the total overthrow of the Mysore State, and Mahadji Sindia was decidedly hostile to that course of policy. The Marathas, however, who are not sensible of the effect which may operate on British authorities from the influence of public opinion in England, attribute the moderation shown by the Governor-General to the representations of Haripant Phadke at the period when Lord Cornwallis was negotiating the alliance against Tipu. He instructed Major Palmer, the Resident with Sindia, to request both Sindia and Holkar to use their influence at Poona for the purpose of effecting the desired connection between the Peshwa and British Government. Sindia offered to unite in the confederacy against Tipu, provided two battalions of regular troops were sent to join the army with which he proposed to march southward, and that the British Government should become bound to protect his territory in Hindustan during his absence. These proposals being considered inadmissible, he refused to become a party to the treaty of Poona. In the meanwhile, Sindia was carrying on his operations against the Rajputs, and it was supposed would have completely subjugated them, but for the opposition and dissensions to which he was exposed from his colleagues, Holkar and Ali Bahadur, which induced him to grant them a peace on their agreement to pay a moderate tribute annually. During this contention of Sindia with his colleagues, he frequently declared his intention of repairing to Poona for the purpose of obtaining their

recall; but Nana's policy in supporting Holkar was well known, and Sindia's situation was deemed too insecure to admit of his venturing on an excursion so distant. When he, therefore, actually commenced his march to Poona, various were the conjectures which ensued. Some considered that, jealous of the increasing power of the British and their influence at Poona and Hyderabad, his views were directed to the establishment of his own authority at Poona for the purpose of preventing the ascendancy which it seemed probable they would obtain, especially if Tipu's dominions were conquered and partitioned; others supposed that he had views on the territory of Nizam Ali, and some believed that his sole object was to prevent the interference of Holkar in his late acquisitions in Hindustan.

It is probable that there was some foundation for all these surmises; certain it is that he had in view the control of the Brahmins and the establishment of his own authority at the Peshwa's capital. After the battle of Patun, in June, 1790, he obtained from the Emperor for the third time patents constituting the Peshwa 'Vakil-ul-Mutlaq'; but now this was to descend to him as a hereditary office in an immutable Inam, on condition, however, of appointing Sindia and his posterity his perpetual deputies. In order, therefore, to exhibit to his countrymen his absolute power over the Imperial House of Timur, for which the Marathas in the Deccan had long an habitual respect, and to gratify the feelings of all Hindus, the Emperor invested Sindia with the right of selecting his own heir from amongst his sons, and issued an edict forbidding the slaughter of bullocks and cows throughout the Moghul dominions.



Sindia's march to the southward was very slow: and he often appeared as deliberating whether he might venture so far from his own territory. He gave out that he was proceeding to Poona by the Emperor's orders as bearer of the Sanads and insignia of the office of Vakil-ul-Mutlaq for the Peshwas. On his arriving at Bhar, near the Godavery, charged with such commissions from the Emperor, he made some demands on Nizam Ali, the nature of which is not ascertained; but he endeavoured to induce him to make him a present of the fertile district of Bhar and bestow Aurungabad on the Peshwa. On being refused, he pretended to be much hurt at his want of courtesy.

Nana Farnavis long doubted whether Sindia would actually come into the Deccan; but on being assured that he was on his route from Burhanpur, he applied to Lord Cornwallis, through Haripant Phadke, for the permanent services of Captain Little's detachment, which had done such good service during the war, offering in the name of the Peshwa to subsidize it; but the Governor-General declined assenting to this proposal. Sindia was very apprehensive of a connection of that kind; and, to allay Nana's well-founded jealousy of his regular infantry, he only brought with him a small party, under a Dutchman of respectable character, named Hessing, and one complete battalion, commanded by Michael Feloze, by birth a Neapolitan, a low, illiterate man of worthless character, but of considerable address and cunning. Sindia arrived at Poona on the 11th June, and pitched his camp near the Sangam, or meeting of the Mutha and Mula rivers, the place assigned by the Peshwa

for the residence of the British envoy and his suite; and hence the Sangam and the Residency, a spot for many reasons interesting and well known to most of our countrymen who have visited that quarter, became synonymous.

Nana Farnavis did everything in his power to prevent the Peshwa's acceptance of the titles and insignia brought from the Emperor; he represented the impropriety of adopting some of the titles and insignia, especially that of Maharaj Adiraj (the greatest of the great Rajas), which was inconsistent with the constitution of the existing government of the Maratha empire. Still Sindia persisted, and permission for the Peshwa's acceptance of all the honours was formally obtained from the Raja of Satara. Nine days after his arrival Nana Farnavis visited Sindia, who received him in the most cordial manner, refused to sit on his masnad in the minister's presence, and treated him with the greatest respect. On the ensuing day Sindia paid his respect to the young Peshwa, carrying with him numerous rare productions and curiosities of Hindustan for the young prince. The following morning was appointed for the grand ceremony of investing the Peshwa with the dignity and title of Vakil-ul-Mutlaq, and Sindia spared no pains to render it as imposing as possible. A grand suite of tents were pitched at a distance from his own camp, the Peshwa proceeded towards them with the most pompous form; at the further end of these splendid apartments a throne, meant to represent the Emperor of the Moghuls, was erected, on which was displayed the Imperial Firman, the khillat or dresses of investiture, and all the principal insignia. The Peshwa,

on approaching the throne, made his obeisance thrice, placed one hundred and one gold mohurs upon it as a nazar or offering, and took his seat on his left. Sindia's Persian secretary then read the Imperial Firman, and amongst others the edict which prevented the slaughter of bullocks and cows. The Peshwa then received the khillats, consisting of nine articles of dresses, five superb ornaments of jewels and feathers, a sword and shield; a pen-case, a seal and inkstand, and two royal morchals or fans of peacock's tails, accompanied by a nalki,<sup>1</sup> a palki,<sup>2</sup> a horse and an elephant; besides six elephants bearing the imperial standard, two crescents, two stars, and the orders of the fish and sun.

The Peshwa retired to an adjoining tent and returned clothed in the imperial khillat, when he resumed his seat, and Sindia, followed by Nana Farnavis and such of the Peshwa's officers as were present, offered nazars of congratulation. When the Peshwa arose to return to his palace, he was followed by Sindia and Haripant carrying the morchals and fanning him. He entered Poona seated in the nalki,

<sup>1</sup> A nalki is a sort of sedan chair without a top, having four poles, two behind and two before, never used but by the Emperor or persons of the very highest rank.

<sup>2</sup> A palki is totally different from the more useful and convenient, though less splendid, conveyance commonly used by Europeans, and termed by them a palanquin; the natives, who call them miānas, also use the same conveyance, but the palki is a sort of bedstead, over which a pole, very much curved in the middle, is fastened, and above all a scarlet cloth stretched on bamboo as an awning, and sometimes very highly ornamented, is placed; when used by ladies there are screens affixed to the upper cloth.

the concourse of people assembled to witness the procession was exceedingly great, the pomp and grandeur displayed was beyond anything that the inhabitants of Poona had ever seen, whilst the clang of thousands of musical instruments, the shouts of the populace, volleys of musketry, and salvos of cannon, seemed to give all the effect that the projection of the state ceremony could possibly desire.

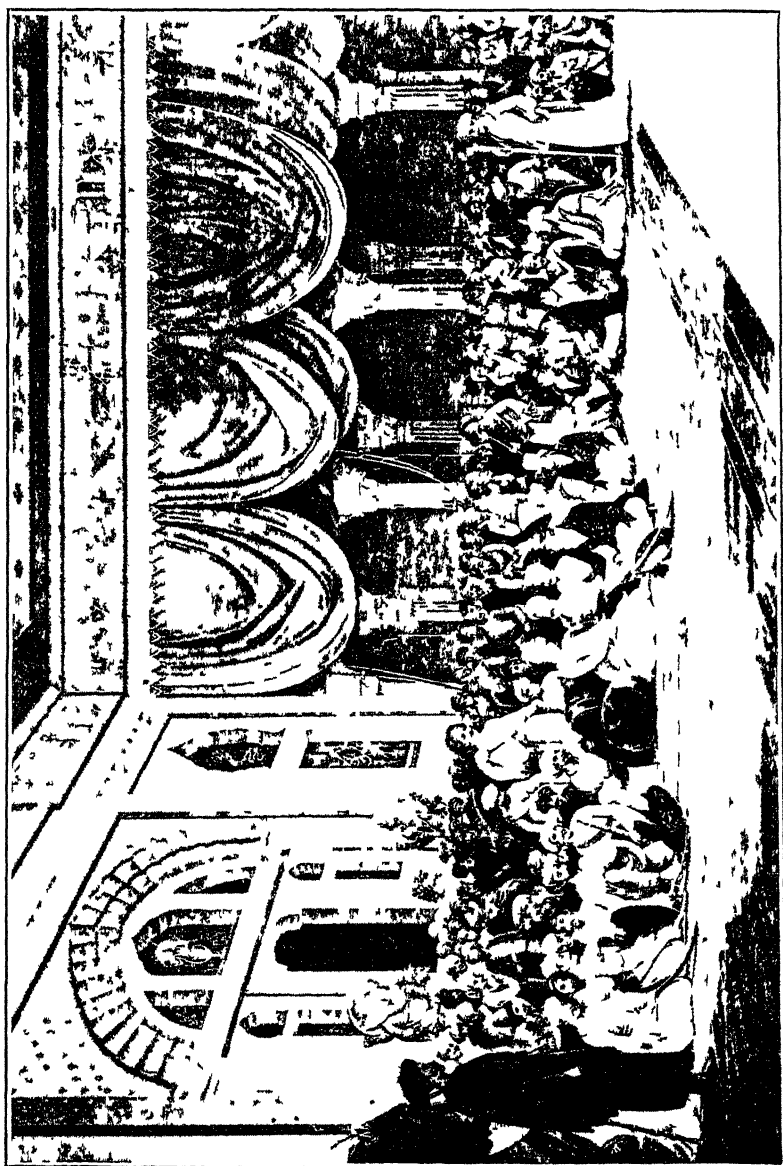
The investiture of Sindia by the Peshwa, as Deputy to the Vakil-ul-Mutlaq, immediately followed on their arrival at the Peshwa's palace: but on this occasion and on several others the pretended humility of Sindia gave disgust, when he insisted on being considered as the hereditary servant of the Peshwa entitled only to carry his slippers,<sup>1</sup> and to be addressed by no higher title than that of Patel; though this affectation was meant to be in conformity with Maratha taste it failed in effect; no Brahmin of education was pleased or deceived by such coarse self-disparagement, and the old Maratha, though Mahadji Sindia had purchased some hereditary privileges in the Deccan, would much more readily have acknowledged his new imperial titles than have assigned to him the appellation of Patel, a distinction which they considered due only to

<sup>1</sup> The first person of this family was Ranoji Sindia, who became eminent as a soldier; he was Patel of Kannakhera, in the districts of Wai. The humble employment of Ranoji was to carry the Peshwa's slippers. Ranoji's advancement, however, is imputed to accident; it is stated that Bajirao Balhal, on returning from a long audience with Shahu Raja, found Ranoji asleep on his back with the slippers of his master clasped with fixed hands on his breast. This extreme care of so trifling a charge struck Bajirao so forcibly that he immediately appointed Ranoji to the bodyguard, whence his rise was rapid.

the legitimate Sindia. The Patel of Kannarkhera, the Mankaris, and those Cavaliers, who considered themselves the old Officers of the Rajas of Satara, though some among them could scarcely term the horse he rode his own, refused to enter the imperial tents with the Peshwa, nor would they present nazars to him as Vakil-ul-Mutlaq. Nazars were presented to Sindia by his officers on returning to his camp, but the feeling amongst his countrymen, which was too strong to escape his notice, proved to him the necessity of much caution in the prosecution of his further designs.

His principal object was to gain the confidence of the young Peshwa, to which the rarities he had brought from Hindustan, and the splendid spectacle with which he had been gratified, paved the way; the frank, unreserved manners of Sindia, who talked to the young prince of hunting and hawking, and carried him out on frequent excursions to see those field sports, were things so very different and so much more agreeable than the sedate and grave observance of decorum habitual to Nana Farnavis that Sindia soon became his constant companion. Parties to the country in the neighbourhood of Poona constantly took place, to which the young prince was invited, and Nana thought it advisable to give his assent, although he clearly saw the design of Sindia, and watched his proceedings so vigilantly that it was difficult for him to find opportunities of conversing with Madhavrao unobserved; when they did occur Sindia never failed to comment on the manner in which he was treated, and to assure him that he had both the power and inclination to render him independent of such tutelage;





but although Madhaviao readily entered into every scheme of pleasure suggested by Sindia, his natural good disposition and judgement rendered it by no means easy to shake his confidence in Nana Farnavis, and at first he combated Sindia's arguments with warmth; but the customary restraints before unfelt, began to be irksome, and Sindia's society proportionably more desirable.

Sindia's public affairs at the Durbar seemed principally to refer to Hindustan, he represented the large sums he had spent in extending the empire and procuring such honours and dignity for the Peshwa, he petitioned for the payment of his expenses, the entire management of the affairs in Hindustan, and finally for the recall of Holkar and Ali Bahadur. In reply to these, the minister always demanded in the first instance an account of the revenue of those districts, which he had subdued so easily and had enjoyed so long. Many discussions on these subjects took place, and many circumstances occurred tending to strengthen the mutual jealousy of Sindia and Nana, but they for some time maintained every form of civility and respect, whilst their respective parties in Hindustan, though engaged in service together in the Rajput country, were almost in a state of open rupture.

Subsequently to the surrender of Kanund, which happened before Sindia reached Poona, Holkar's and Sindia's armies were levying tribute together in the Rajput territory; they had also taken two forts, when, quarelling about the spoils, their jealousy broke forth into open hostilities which brought on a battle, on which occasion Gopalrao Bhao Lakwa Dada and De Boigne, with twenty thousand horse and nine



thousand regular infantry, defeated Holkar's army, consisting of thirty thousand horse and four regular battalions. Holkar's army was completely defeated, and the shattered remains of the corps retreated precipitately into Malwa, where Holkar in impotent rage sacked Ujjain, the capital of his rival. When these accounts reached Poona, the ostensible cordiality of Sindia and the Court was for a time obstructed, and precautions were adopted by both parties as if apprehensive of personal violence. Nana Farnavis called in the aid of Parasuram Bhao, who arrived with two thousand horse; this imprudent reinforcement furnished Sindia with a greater pretext for greatly increasing the parties who had accompanied him, and for bringing down one of his infantry brigades, but, as neither party was desirous of attaining their ends by prosecuting the war, positive instructions were despatched to their respective officers to refrain from hostilities and to await the pacific settlement of their disputes by orders from the Peshwa.

The result rendered Sindia all-powerful in Hindustan, but he was conscious of his unpopularity in the Deccan and strove to overcome it; with this view he had, on his arrival at Poona, espoused the cause of Govindrao Gaikwar in a manner which will be hereafter explained, and upon one occasion, when Nana Farnavis, during the minority of the Pant Sachiv, assumed charge of his lands, Sindia, who knew that the proceeding met with general disapprobation, interposed, conveyed the Sachiv to Poona in opposition to the minister, re-established him in his possessions, and dismissed Bajirao Moreshwar, the agent, whom

Nana had placed in charge of the Sachiv territory. This daring interference gave rise to a quarrel, which was, with difficulty, appeased by the mediation of Haripant Phadke, but fresh disputes arose in consequence of Sindia's more undisguised attempts to induce the Peshwa to seek his protection. On one occasion, in particular, a conversation took place in a boat at Soligaon which, being overheard and repeated, caused an immediate alarm in the mind of Nana, and he took the first opportunity of coming to an explanation with the Peshwa. He addressed himself both to his feelings and judgement, enumerated the services he had performed for him and the state, described the views of aggrandizement entertained by Sindia, pointed out his foreign troops, his departure from ancient usage, and his want of connection with the Maratha people, over whom and the Brahmin sovereignty he was bent upon establishing an absolute power. With these observations he contrasted his own situation, his inability to preserve order or resist the encroachments of Sindia, if unsupported by his prince; and finally, lamenting in tears the probable effects of the evil counsels by which he had been misled, he tendered his resignation, and declared his resolution to proceed to Benares. Madhavrao was greatly affected; in a transport of grief he begged his forgiveness, entreated his stay and promised to be ever guarded in his conduct. But notwithstanding this establishment of influence, Sindia, by his great power, would probably have ultimately prevailed over his rival, although the unqualified support of Haripant to all the measures of the minister, the friendship of the powerful Brahmin families of Rastia and Patwardhan, together

with that of the old Mankaris, some of them great jaghirdars, formed a strong opposition to the views of Mahadji Sindia. But in the midst of his ambitious schemes he was suddenly seized with a violent fever, which in a few days terminated his life. He breathed his last at Wanowri, in the environs of Poona, on the 12th day of February, 1794.

Mahadji Sindia, some time prior to his death, had resolved to adopt Daulatrao, the son of his youngest nephew, Anandrao; the ceremony of adoption had not actually taken place, but Mahadji Sindia had repeatedly declared Daulatrao his heir; and although Lakshmi-bai, the widow of Mahadji Sindia, opposed Daulatrao's succession, her objections were over-ruled, as even Nana Farnavis acceded to it. Tukaji Holkar was one of the first to acknowledge Daulatrao, although the dependents of Sindia's family and other Maratha authorities sent their congratulations, so that this youth, who had scarcely attained his fifteenth year, became undisputed heir to the extensive realms of Mahadji Sindia.

The empire founded by Sivaji now covered a vast space, and, had it been possible to combine its powers to direct advantageously the peculiar genius of his people, and to render its various parts subservient to its general strength, the Marathas might still have extended their conquests, and a persevering predatory warfare would probably have arrested the rapid rise of the British nation in India. But the causes which drove the Marathas to predatory habits, and the circumstances which allured them to conquest, no longer existed; nor had they any chief whose authority was sufficient to unite them; they now lived under govern-

ments of their own which were generally mild; the executive authorities, even if administered by persons tyrannically disposed, were not so powerful as to become arbitrarily oppressive, and they were at the same time too feeble to call forth all the resources which smaller states, better organized, could have commanded. The Marathas were still a military people, some member of every peasant's family, and sometimes the fourth or fifth of a whole village had carried arms; persons once employed were generally ready to return to the service when required, but pitched battles and regular warfare were unsuited to their genius; the Maratha cavalry, when accustomed to depend on regular infantry and cannon, lost their former surprising activity and confidence on distant enterprises; even their courage, which, as a national virtue, was very conspicuous, had fallen below its ordinary level, and whilst some among them admired the wisdom of Mahadji Sindia, and extolled the advantages to be obtained by disciplined armies and artillery, others, as we have already mentioned, more justly predicted from the same cause the certain overthrow of the Hindu power. The great object, however, of preserving the supremacy of the Peshwa, and of giving to the Maratha nation that common excitement of action founded on the immediate gratification of self-interest, became, for a short period, a point of much less difficulty than might have been anticipated; this tendency to union proceeded from the exciting claims on Nizam Ali, in the settlement of which all the Maratha chiefs were taught to expect a part; the death of Sindia left the entire management to Nana Farnavis, and the English adopted a neutral policy on the occasion.

We have already noticed the nature of the claims on Nizam Ali. They were outstanding balances for a series of years on account of chauth and sardesh-mukhi; discussions had been occasionally agitated on the subject by the Marathas for the ten last years, but the alliance in which they had been associated against Tipu had enabled Nizam Ali to procrastinate, and prevent the Marathas from insisting on a settlement of their affairs. In 1791 Govindrao Kale and Govind-rao Pingle, the Peshwa's envoys at the Court of Hyderabad, had formally requested that Nizam Ali would appoint commissioners for investigating and adjusting the claims of their master. After considerable discussion, Nizam Ali delivered to these envoys a set of demands under thirty-four separate heads, chiefly regarding contributions unjustly exacted and the revenue of different places improperly taken or withheld by the Marathas; he also demanded reparation on account of damage sustained by the inroads of Pindaris residing within the Peshwa's boundary; to all which satisfactory replies, drawn up with remarkable clearness and ability by Nana Farnavis, were promptly returned, followed by a set of articles, twenty-eight in number, demanding the adjustment of the Maratha claims, some of which Nana proved to have existed since 1774.

Nizam Ali was compelled to acknowledge some of these demands, others he evaded; but he promised in general terms to appoint some persons to settle the whole as soon as the war with Tipu had terminated, hoping by that time to obtain the interposition of the English. At the close of the war, in 1792, Lord Cornwallis had endeavoured to effect a treaty of

guarantee, founded on that article of the alliance which regarded the assistance to be offered by the contracting parties in case of an attack upon any one of them by Tipu, believing that, by such a treaty, he should render a benefit to all parties and secure the peace of India ; but it was hardly to be supposed that any Indian statesman could appreciate such a design, and accordingly each of the native courts interpreted the proposal as it appeared to affect their own interests. The Nizam saw in it a disposition to assist him, and hoped to realize his meditated scheme of raising a barrier between himself and the Marathas, so that he might not only resist their future encroachments but evade the present demands ; at all events he had no doubt of obtaining a settlement such as Hyder had effected with the Marathas, by paying a fixed tribute, and from which Tipu by the late treaty was completely absolved. The Marathas, on the other hand, received the proposal as an arrogant assumption of authority on the part of the British Government, and it excited their jealousy as affecting the settlement of their established claims ; on the propriety of resisting this interposition both Mahadji Sindia and Nana Farnavis concurred, but they differed in their opinions with regard to the supposed designs of the English. Sindia conjectured that they projected an alliance with Nizam Ali for the purpose of obtaining the command of the Nizam's resources and turning them against the Marathas, in consequence of which, for a short time previous to his death, he carried on a friendly correspondence with Tipu Sultan. Nana Farnavis, although he did not perceive the benevolent purpose by which Lord Cornwallis was actuated, took a more correct

view of the subject, in supposing the English, though desirous of becoming umpires, would not risk a war unless to save the Hyderabad State from being subverted; such a conquest, however, even in subsequent success, Nana Farnavis never ventured to contemplate. When the treaty of guarantee was submitted to the Court of Poona, Mahadji Sindia would have rejected it at once, but Nana, being anxious to keep well with the English as a check on Sindia, without giving a direct refusal prolonged the discussion, although with no intention of assenting to what was proposed. When Sir John Shore succeeded to the charge of the Government of British India, on the departure of the Marquis of Cornwallis in the month of August, 1793,<sup>1</sup> Nizam Ali had supposed that nobleman so intent on effecting the treaty of general guarantee, that he concealed the deep interest he felt in the success of the negotiation of Poona until he saw the prospect of its failure; he then used every argument and held forth every inducement in his power to obtain a separate treaty of guarantee for himself. Sir John Shore, however, did not think it advisable to compel the Marathas to accept the mediation of the British nation, and adhered to a system of neutrality for a variety of reasons which it is unnecessary to enter upon, saving to remark that, whatever might have been the apparent advantage derived from the Governor-General's interference, if it had enabled Nizam Ali to effect his evasive purposes it must have been recorded as an injustice to the Marathas.

<sup>1</sup> Note.—Sir John Shore entered on the duties of Governor-General on the 28th October, 1793.

From the period when the demands of the Marathas were formally received, whilst negotiations for the treaty of guarantee were in progress, Nizam Ali, probably without imagining that actual hostilities would take place, had been increasing his military force; a body of regular infantry, which during the war with Tipu had consisted of two battalions under a respectable French officer, named Raymond, was increased to twenty-three battalions. His army was much augmented after Mahadji Sindia's death, and he hoped, in consequence of that event, the Marathas might be easily satisfied or successfully resisted, even if he should be unable to obtain the interposition of the English. When the envoy, Govind Kale, renewed his master's demands, he produced a detailed statement showing a balance in his favour of nearly two crores and sixty lacs of rupees; warm discussion took place between the envoy and Mashir-ul-Mulk, when at last the former was told in public durbar that Nana Farnavis must himself attend at the Court of Hyderabad in order to afford an explanation of the different items of their intricate claims, the envoy replied, 'Nana Farnavis is much engaged, how can he come?' 'How can he come?' re-echoed Mashir-ul-Mulk, 'I will soon show him how he shall be brought to the presence.' This menace was considered a sufficient declaration of war, and although negotiations continued to the last, both parties prepared to decide their differences by the sword.

The war, whilst still at a distance, was extremely popular amongst the Moghuls; the grand army, under Nizam Ali's personal command, was assembled at Bidar, and the camp exhibited much bustle and



animation ; the most vaunting threats were constantly heard from the ill-appointed, disorderly soldiery. Poona was to be pillaged and burned ; the dancing girls already sang the triumphs of their army, and even the prime minister declared in a public assembly ' that the Moghuls should now be freed from the Maratha encroachments, that they should recover Bijapur and Khandesh, or they would never grant peace until they had despatched the Peshwa to Benares with a cloth about his loins and a pot of water in his hands, to mutter incantations on the bank of the Ganges.'

The minister at Poona was soon able to collect a very large army. No events had taken place since Sindia's death excepting such as appeared favourable to Nana's power, and the prospect of sharing in the expected advantages brought to his standard all the chiefs whose attendance was of any consequence. Daulatrao Sindia and Tukaji Holkar were already at Poona, and the Raja of Berar *en route* to join ; Govindrao Gaikwar sent a detachment of his troops ; the great southern Jaghirdars, comprising the Brahmin Jaghirdars of Malegaon and Vinchur, the Prithinidhi, the Pant Sachiv, the Maratha Mankaris, Nimbalkar, Ghatge, Dafle, Powar, Thorat and Patankar, with many others less conspicuous, attended the summons. But this was the last time the chiefs of the Maratha nation assembled under the authority of the Peshwa. Nizam Ali was first in the field and slowly advanced from Bidar, along the banks of the Manjera, towards the Maratha frontier ; the Peshwa quitted Poona in January and his army marched at the same time, but by different routes for the convenience of procuring forage. There were upwards of one

hundred and thirty thousand horse and foot in the Maratha camp, exclusive of ten thousand Pindaris; of this force upwards of one half<sup>1</sup> were either paid from the Peshwa's treasury, or were troops of Jaghirdars under his direct control. Daulatrao's force was more numerous and more efficient than that of any other chieftain, although the greater part of his army remained in Hindustan and Malwa. Juba Bakshi commanded immediately under Daulatrao, and had joined him with a reinforcement, the whole consisting of twenty-five thousand men, of whom ten thousand were regular infantry, under De Boigne's second in command, Monsieur Perron. Raghoji Bhonsle mustered fifteen thousand horse and foot; Tukaji Holkar had only ten thousand, but of these two thousand were regulars under Dudrenec, and most of the Pindaris were followers of Holkar; Parasuram Bhao had seven thousand men.

Nana Farnavis consulted the chief officers separately; he appointed Parasuram Bhao to act as Commander-in-Chief; the Pindaris and other horse were ordered on to plunder in the neighbourhood of the Moghul camp,<sup>2</sup> and destroy their forage; the heavy baggage, properly protected, remained one march in the rear, and the best of the horse, with the regular infantry, supported by upwards of one hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, were sent forward to attack Nizam Ali, who had an army amounting in all to one hundred and ten thousand men, advancing towards Kharda.

<sup>1</sup> The force of the Peshwa was estimated at 73,000 cavalry, 38,000 infantry, and 192 guns. (Auber.)

<sup>2</sup> This was the advice of Subah Bakshi and Tukaji Holkar.

As we are not here writing a history of the Maratha war, it is unnecessary to follow the army through the operations that followed; suffice it to say that on the 15th March, Nizam Ali, having been completely defeated, solicited and obtained a cessation of arms. The preliminary demand made by the Marathas was the surrender of the minister, Mashir-ul-Mulk, that amends might be made for the insult offered to the Peshwa in threatening to seize Nana Farnavis; they next exacted territorial cessions extending along the frontier, from the district of Paranda on the south to the Tapti river on the north, comprehending the fort of Daulatabad and such parts of those districts, formerly conquered by Sadashivrao Bhao in 1760, as had been restored to Nizam Ali; three crores of rupees were promised on account of arrears of revenue and expenses of the war; besides which, by a separate agreement, Nizam Ali ceded territory yielding three lacs and eighteen thousand rupees in lieu of Raghoji Bhonsle's claims for Ghasdani in Gangthari, estimated at three and a half lacs annually. Nizam Ali also promised to pay up the arrears due to Raghoji Bhonsle, amounting to twenty-nine lacs, and to collect their respective shares of revenue in Berar, according to ancient usage, for all which the Peshwa afterwards became Raghoji's guarantee.

It was with extreme reluctance that Nizam Ali agreed to surrender the person of his minister; but Mashir-ul-Mulk urged him to the measure, especially as, under the circumstances in which they found themselves, they did not consider the other conditions so immoderate as might have been expected.

The minister was, therefore, delivered over to a

party of two hundred Marathas, by whom he was escorted to their camp. The Peshwa met him at the outskirts and received him with distinction, but his person was carefully guarded. The Marathas were overjoyed by this triumph, but a remark of the young Peshwa, when rallied by Nana Farnavis on the melancholy which his countenance betrayed at the time of Mashir-ul-Mulk's arrival, was as just as interesting: 'I grieve,' said he, 'to observe such degeneracy as there must be on both sides, when such a disgraceful submission has been made by the Moghuls, and our soldiers are vaunting of a victory obtained without an effort.' There were scarcely two hundred men lost by both these two great armies in the engagement, though considerable numbers of the Moghuls were killed in the subsequent confusion; but to this day it is one of the greatest boasts of the old Silladars in the Maratha villages that they were present in the glorious field of Kharda.<sup>1</sup>

On the return of the Peshwa to Poona, Nana Farnavis was employed in distributing the late acquisition and in settling various affairs with the different chiefs. Parasuram Bhao and Raghoji Bhonsle remained in the neighbourhood of the capital, but Holkar and Sindia encamped at some distance from them, the former at Jejuri and the latter at Jamgaon, until news arrived of Alijah's rebellion (who had rebelled against his father,<sup>2</sup> Nizam Ali), when they both

<sup>1</sup> By the treaty of Kharda, the Marathas gained an accession of wealth, territory and reputation, with an influence and control over the Nizam, from which at that moment there was little prospect of his emancipation. (Auber.)

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Raymond undertook to repress this rebellion; he follow-

repaired to Poona, with what views is not ascertained. nor is there any proof that the Marathas were instrumental to the rebellion, although it was suspected by Nizam Ali himself, and has been affirmed by Moghul historians. By the middle of September, Daulatrao had obtained his audience of leave and proceeded to Jamgaon on his route to Hindustan; Parasuram Bhao had returned to his family Jaghir at Tasgaon; Holkar continued in Poona, where Raghoji Bhonsle also remained until the middle of October, when he was dismissed with great honours, receiving new sanads for a portion of territory lying on the south side of the Nerbada. Nana Farnavis was now at the summit of prosperity; without the intervention of a foreign power he had obtained every object of his ambition. Daulatrao Sindia was favourably disposed towards him, and his ministers and officers were more intent on forwarding their own particular views in the government of their young master than in schemes for controlling the Poona Court. Tukaji Holkar had become imbecile both in mind and body, and his officers were subservient to Nana. Raghoji Bhonsle was completely secured in his interests, and the Brahmin Jaghirdars were of his party. The Peshwa's government had thus every prospect of regaining the tone and vigour it had possessed under the great Madhavrao, but Nana's fondness of power and his anxiety to preserve it brought on a catastrophe which speedily undermined his life, and terminated his days in trouble and misery.

ed the prince to Bidar, pursued him to Aurungabad, took him prisoner, and was bringing him to Hyderabad; but Alijah, unable to face his father, put an end to his own existence by poison before they reached the capital.

Although the young Peshwa was now in his twenty-first year, Nana Farnavis relaxed nothing of the rigid tutelage in which he had reared him ; and the old minister became more than ever watchful of all the state prisoners, whose liberty might endanger his own power. He was apprehensive that Mahadji Sindia had intended to use the Brahmin's government, and he now treated the object of his dread with more than ordinary severity, by diminishing his allowances and prohibiting his relations from visiting him in the Fort.

The family of Raghunathrao were kept at Kopergaon until the year 1793, when they were removed to Anandwali, near Nasik, as a place more agreeable to the widow Anandibai, whose health was on the decline. In the month of April of the succeeding year she died. The sons, Bajirao and Chimmaji Appa, with the adopted son of Raghoba Amritrao, remained at Anandwali ; until, upon the prospect of hostilities with Nizam Ali, they were conveyed to the hill fort of Sivaneri, where, once secured, Nana Farnavis, at the termination of the war, retained them in close custody under two officers in whom he confided, Raghupant Ghorpade and Balvantrao Raghunath.

The condition of these young men excited strong feeling of commiseration even in the minds of those who judged it necessary ; and others, swayed chiefly by their feelings, execrated the conduct of the minister as cruel, vindictive and unjustifiable. Distinct from either of these classes was the old faction of Raghoba, and other persons wholly discontented, who endeavoured by every means to exalt the character of the prisoners and lower the reputation of Nana Farnavis. But these indications of the public mind only increased

the wary circumspection of the minister, and the elation of the legitimate sons of Raghunathrao early became an object of jealousy. Graceful in person, with handsome and youthful countenance which ensured favourable impressions, Bajirao had the mild manner, and an address so insinuating that he gained the good-will of all who approached him ; his bodily and mental accomplishments were equally extolled ; at the age of nineteen he was an excellent horseman, skillful in the use of the sword and bow, and allowed to be the most expert spearsman. He was deeply read in the Shastras, particularly in such parts as regard the observances of the East, and of his age no pandit so learned had been known in Maharastra.

The young Peshwa, so far from being jealous of the superior accomplishments of his cousin, was pleased with hearing him commended, and frequently expressed a strong desire to procure his enlargement and cultivate his friendship. In vain did the cautious Nana Farnavis advise him to beware of the sapling, however comely he might be, which sprung from the weakness of Raghunathrao and the wickedness of Anandibai ; the greater the restraint the stronger was his inclination. But Madhavrao was watched and Bajirao was a close prisoner. The latter, however, having discovered the favourable disposition of the Peshwa towards him, and having at length gained Balvantrao Raghunath, he conveyed a message with assurances of respect and attachment, adding that he was in confinement at Sivaneri, and that the Peshwa under the control of his minister ; that though in the condition as prisoners was nearly the same, but that their minds and affections were free, and should

devoted to each other ; that their ancestors had distinguished themselves, and that the time would arrive when his cousin and himself might hope to emulate their deeds and raise for themselves a lasting and honourable name. This message was the commencement of a correspondence which began shortly after the return of the army to Poona, and continued for some time, till at length it came to the knowledge of Nana, who betrayed a rage altogether unusual at the discovery. He immediately threw Balvantrao Raghunath into a hill fort, loaded with irons, severely reproached Madhavrao, and rendered the strictness of Bajirao's confinement far more rigid than before. Madhavrao, already galled by restraint and irritated by the insidious messages of his cousin, was overwhelmed with anger, disappointment and grief. He refused absolutely to quit his apartment, and his absence from his usual place at the durbar was imputed to fever. On the Dasara, which happened on the 22nd October and was conducted with great splendour, he appeared amongst his troops, and in the evening received his chiefs and the ambassadors at his Court in the usual manner. But his spirit was wounded to desperation, a fixed melancholy seized on his mind, and on the morning of the 25th October he deliberately threw himself from a terrace in his palace, fractured two of his limbs and was much wounded by the tube of a fountain on which he fell. He desired that Bajirao should succeed him. He expired in the arms of Baburao Phadke, for whom he had entertained a great affection.

The death of Madhavrao was an event of such awful importance to the political existence of Nana Farnavis, that the consideration of its consequences withdrew his



mind from the deep affliction which the untimely end of that amiable young prince would have disposed him to indulge. He carefully suppressed the request of Madhavrao in his cousin's favour, dreading that by such an arrangement he should not only be deprived of power, but perhaps of liberty and life. His first care, on hearing the nature of the accident, was to send off notice to Parasuram Bhao, requiring his immediate presence at Poona, with every man he could collect; and the day after the Peshwa's death Raghoji Bhonsle and Daulatrao Sindia were recalled for the purpose of deliberating on the succession to the masnad. Tukaji Holkar, being in Poona, immediately visited the minister, who not only made use of all the popular prejudice which existed against the name of Raghunathrao, but described the enmity which, from the first dawning of reason, had been instilled into Bajirao by his mother against the whole of those officers who had now any experience in the affairs of the state; he showed the danger to be apprehended from the connection between his family and the English, dwelt upon the happy state of prosperity and union which then prevailed in the Maratha empire, and enlarged on the increasing benefits to be expected if the existing course of policy were carefully preserved. In these sentiments Holkar concurred, and, the disposition of the other chiefs being sounded, Nana ventured to disclose his plans, by suggesting that Yeshodabai, the widow of the deceased prince, who had not yet attained the age of puberty, should adopt a son, in whose name he proposed to conduct the government as heretofore. Some objections were raised by Baloba Tatya, one of Sindia's principal

ministers, but they were overruled by his colleague in office, Juba Bakshi, who observed that their master was too young to be able to judge for himself, but he thought his safest course was to be guided by the experience of the older chiefs, and to follow the example of Tukaji Holkar. At length, after some discussion, the consent of the principal chiefs was obtained in writing, and in the month of January they again retired from Poona.

In the preceding November, Mr. Malet, the Resident on the part of the British Government, had made a formal application to the minister for the purpose of ascertaining on what footing the Maratha Government was to be conducted. Nana Farnavis replied that the widow of the late Peshwa was to be considered head of the empire until the great officers of the nation had deliberated upon the succession, when the result should be communicated. He now, therefore, intimated their resolution that the widow should adopt a son, to which no objection on the part of Mr. Malet could be offered, and nothing now was apparently required except the selection of a child and the performance of the ceremony. But Bajirao, who had obtained information of the whole proceeding by which he was thus unjustly to be deprived of his right, gave a further specimen of his talent for intrigue, by immediately taking advantage of the favourable disposition evinced towards him by Baloba Tatya, opening a correspondence with him, and in a few months gaining him over to his cause. This union was the more important to Bajirao, as the death of Juba Bakshi had taken place a short time previously, and on his death-bed he sent for Daulatrao and expressed

his regret for having advised him to accede to the plan of adoption whilst a lineal descendant of Balaji Vishvanath remained. Having secured the Prime Minister, Bajirao next addressed himself to Sindia, offering him four lacs of rupees of territory, and whatever might be the expenses of his troops during the time he should require their aid in asserting his lawful succession to the masnad. The offer was accepted and a formal agreement was drawn up, but it was scarcely concluded when the whole was divulged to Nana Farnavis. In the greatest alarm, the minister instantly summoned Parasuram Bhao, who marched from Tasgaon to Poona with a body of horse in forty-eight hours, a distance of upwards of one hundred and twenty English miles. After some deliberation, it was resolved to anticipate Sindia's design to release Bajirao and declare him Peshwa. Parasuram Bhao accordingly proceeded to the fort of Sivaneri and made his proposals. Amritrao advised his brother not to accept them, observing that these offers were but certain indications of Sindia's insincerity. Bajirao did not rely on the good-will of either party beyond the dictates of their interests, and if assured of attaining his object he would not have hesitated. He, however, urged many objections, though only for the purpose of obtaining satisfactory assurances; with this view, amongst other solemn asseverations, he obliged Parasuram Bhao to hold the tail of a cow and swear by the holy Godavery that no deception was intended, after which he descended from the fort, and, accompanied by his brother, Chimmaji Appa, set out for his future capital. Amritrao, by Parasuram Bhao's order, was detained in custody at Sivaneri. Immedi-

ately on Bajirao's arrival at Poona he had an interview with Nana Farnavis, when they mutually promised to bury all traces of enmity in oblivion, and Bajirao, on being assured of the succession, promised to retain Nana at the head of his administration ; to this both parties exchanged formal declarations in writing.

The following is a translation of that which was given by Bajirao to Nana Farnavis: 'In the presence of my God, and from the inmost recesses of my heart, I have rooted out every vestige of any former act. Let all our future conduct be guided by the principles of good faith. I will never injure you or yours by word or deed, by any inward thought or outward act; neither will I allow any other person to do so, on this point I will be inflexible and will pay no attention to the suggestions of others. I will not allow your reputation to be sullied, and should anyone attempt to instil anything of the kind into my mind, I will point him out to you. I will never release anyone from confinement without your advice; all state affairs shall be managed by our conjunct counsel. From this day all your acts are mine, suspicion is wholly eradicated from my heart.' Baloba Tatya, on hearing of the step which Bajirao had taken, was incensed at his conduct, but determined to counteract the schemes of Nana Farnavis. He therefore persuaded Sindia, who was then on the banks of the Godavery, to march on Poona his whole force. Nana Farnavis was dismayed; Parasuram Bhao advised him to stand firm and to collect troops and give battle, but Nana, deficient in personal courage, was also sensible of the superiority of Sindia's army; he could not trust Bajirao, and he was terrified lest he should fall into the hands of

Baloba Tatya, by whom he believed he should be put to death. Having therefore left Parasuram Bhao with Bajirao at Poona, he told the latter that as Sindia was advancing with intentions only hostile towards himself, he thought the best means of averting ruinous civil dissensions was for him to retire from business by withdrawing from the capital. He accordingly repaired first to Purandar and afterwards to Satara. Sindia arrived in the neighbourhood of Poona and had a friendly interview with Bajirao, but Baloba Tatya, although he affected to meet him with cordiality, could not forget his behaviour, especially after he had seen Anantrao, whom he removed from Sivaneri to Jamgaon, but did not restore him to liberty.

After considering various plans, Baloba Tatya at last resolved to set aside Bajirao and to raise both a minister and Peshwa of his own; for which purpose he proposed to Parasuram Bhao, through Bhairopant Mehendale, that Madhavrao's widow should adopt Chimmaji Appa as her son; that Bajirao should be placed in confinement; and that Parasuram Bhao should conduct the administration.

Parasuram Bhao had begun to despise Nana Farnavis for his pusillanimous conduct, but he still so far respected his wisdom as to ask his opinion. Nana advised him to accept what was proposed, but to take care that Bajirao came into his custody. To this last essential part of the advice no attention was paid by Parasuram Bhao. Baloba Tatya pretended to be partly influenced in the measure he now pursued by the hope of rendering it in some degree acceptable to Nana Farnavis, lest the latter, in the present state

of Daulatrao's inexperience, should form some confederacy by means of the other chiefs against the house of Sindia. Baloba accordingly, as soon as Nana's assent had been obtained, made overtures for a reconciliation, to which the latter made no objections.

Nana's own proceedings in the meantime deserve notice. When he quitted Purandar and repaired to Satara he entertained some design of emancipating the Raja and restoring the old form of Sivaji's government, as a plan calculated to avert the dissensions that had arisen, and which were likely to increase, in the state, but a very few days convinced him of the futility of this scheme. The Raja, in consequence of the treatment he had experienced, had no confidence in him; the Raja's name was sufficiently popular to have brought many of the most warlike Maratha families to his standard, and have awakened a powerful interest amongst the descendants of the first followers of Sivaji. The Raja, though incapable of conducting state affairs himself, was a man of courage, and several of his relations were fit leaders for any dangerous enterprise; but Nana's object was to devise some means of establishing a controlling authority over the chiefs of the empire, not to stir up a power subversive of all order. After a few conferences he desisted, and retired to Wai, a town in the neighbourhood, but his having entertained such a scheme was so far fortunate for the Raja, that he was indulged in a little more liberty and was treated with greater kindness and consideration.

When Nana Farnavis consented to the proposal of Baloba Tatyā for adopting Chimmaji Appa, it became

necessary to obtain the Raja's khillat of investiture for the new Peshwa; on which occasion Nana came from Wai to Satara, and, on receiving the khillat, promised that if he ever had an opportunity he would endeavour to fulfil the agreement made with Ram Raja in the time of Balaji Bajirao, by putting the present Raja Shahu in possession of the territory promised by the treaty of Sangola.

Nana would have proceeded to Poona, but on finding that Parasuram Bhao had allowed Sindia's minister to retain the person of Bajirao, he suspected, and with reason, that the whole was a scheme to entice him into the power of Baloba Tatya; and, therefore, although he forwarded the khillat, he himself remained at Wai. Bajirao was still ignorant of the plot which had been formed against him, and the manner of disclosing it is too characteristic, not only of the period but of the future ways of the Poona Court, to be omitted. Some demands for money on account of Sindia's expenses were made on Bajirao; and, upon his expressing his inability to comply with them they were urged in a tone which produced altercation; and Sindia, pretending to take offence at the manner of Bajirao's refusal, begged permission to return to Hindustan. Bajirao, as had been foreseen, immediately repaired to Sindia's army for the purpose of privately expostulating; he was there detained in argument until late in the evening, when the conference was suddenly interrupted by intelligence of Parasuram Bhao's having carried off Chimmaji Appa; no one, it was pretended, knew whither, but it was supposed to Satara. Bajirao, alarmed and astonished, begged of Sindia to

pursue him, but the uncertainty of their route, the strength of their party, and the darkness of the night prevented the request being complied with. Next day he discovered the snare, and was advised to remain where he was, as any place beyond the precincts of Sindia's camp was unsafe for His Highness. In the meantime, Parasuram Bhao and Baburao Phadke had merely conveyed Chimmaji Appa into the city of Poona, but Chimmaji positively refused to become a party in the unjust usurpation of his brother's rights, and compulsion only induced him to bear his share in it. He was adopted under the name of Chimmaji Madhavrao, and formally invested as Peshwa on the 26th May.

The pecuniary difficulties of Sindia and the distress of his army were not fictions. Parasuram Bhao, on being appointed minister, had promised to raise money, and for this purpose offered to restore the minister of Nizam Ali, Mashir-ul-Mulk, to liberty, on condition of receiving a portion of the balance of three crores of rupees due by the treaty of Kharda. Mashir-ul-Mulk said he could only use his endeavours; but upon this promise he was released from confinement, permitted to encamp in the environs of the city and in a short time was surrounded by a considerable retinue.

The day after the installation of the new Peshwa, Parasuram Bhao proposed that Nana Farnavis should come to Poona, meet, and be reconciled to, Baloba Tatya, and afterwards assume the civil administration in the new Peshwa's government, whilst the command of the troops and military arrangements should remain with himself. In reply to this proposal, Nana



Farnavis requested that Parasuram Bhao's eldest son, Haripant, might be sent to Wai for the purpose of clearly settling some preliminaries; but, instead of coming as an envoy, Haripant crossed the Nira at the head of four or five thousand chosen horse, a circumstance that naturally in itself excited suspicion, which was strengthened by a secret letter from Baburao Phadke, advising him to seek his own safety without a moment's delay.

The fortunes of Nana Farnavis were now, in general opinion, and perhaps in his own, desperate; but on being forced to abandon half measures, into which he was misled through his timid disposition, the vigour of his judgement, the fertility of his expedients, the extent of his influence, and the combination of instruments which he called into action surprised all India, and from his European contemporaries procured for him the name of the 'Maratha Machiavel.'

When he saw the danger imminent, he immediately fled from Wai towards the Konkan, blocked up the passes in his rear, and on arriving at the village of Mahar, his first care was to put the Fort of Kailgarh into the best state of defence. Baloba Tatyia proposed that he should be followed up without delay, and offered some of Sindia's regular infantry for the purpose, but Parasuram Bhao, influenced by secret well-wishers of Nana's, objected to the employment of coercive measures, although his hostility to Nana Farnavis was soon after avowed by his giving up Nana's jaghir lands to Sindia and sequestrating his houses and property in Poona for his own use. The ostensible property of Nana Farnavis, however, was but an insignificant proportion of the extent of his

concealed wealth. It is a common report that he carried with him, when he quitted Poona, hoards of gold, the accumulated treasures of the Peshwas; but, as already stated on the authority of their accounts, the Peshwas up to the time of the first Madhavrao were in debt and were always embarrassed, so that the riches of Nana Farnavis, which were, without doubt, considerable, must have been saved during his own administration. His funds were secretly deposited in different places or lodged in the hands of agents in various parts of India, so that he could command them with promptitude in case of emergency; but the secret of their deposit and of his management remains a mystery, a subject of some curiosity and the theme of many wonders and impositions amongst the Maratha vulgar.

The revolution which had taken place naturally tended to unite Bajirao and Nana Farnavis, and a secret intercourse was carried on between them through the medium of an individual who afterwards became conspicuous. In the service of Nana Purandare there was a Maratha Silladar, the natural son of the patel of the village of Mangapur, near Pandharpur, who had contrived to attract the notice of Bajirao when he was taken from confinement at Sivaneri, and who was afterwards permitted by Nana Purandare to enter Bajirao's service. Balaji Kunjar, for such was the name of the Silladar, perceiving the situation of affairs, although he had little opportunity of consulting his master, visited Nana Farnavis at Mahar, and conveyed the most friendly declarations and assurances on the part of Bajirao, begging Nana to exert himself in their mutual behalf; no excitement

to exertion was necessary, Nana Farnavis had every engine at work. Baburao Phadke, in command of the Peshwa's household troops, had engaged to bring them over to him; Tukaji Holkar's whole power and influence were ready at his signal; and he had opened a negotiation with Sindia, through Rayaji Patel, whom he knew to be inimical to Baloba Tatya, offering to Sindia the Jaghir of Parasuram Bhao Patwardhan, the fort of Ahmednagar with territory yielding ten lacs of rupees, on condition that he would place Baloba Tatya in confinement, establish Bajirao on the masnad, and return with his army to Hindustan. Thus far of his plans Nana Farnavis communicated to Balaji Kunjar for Bajirao's information. This period of the revolution brought many persons into notice, although none so obscure as the individual just mentioned; of these, one of the most conspicuous was the person employed by Nana Farnavis to negotiate with Rayaji Patel in order to bring over Sindia. The name of this man was Sakharam Ghatge, of the Kagal family, whose ancient title, as already mentioned, was Shirzirao.

Sakharam, having had a quarrel with his relations and Yeswantrao Ghatge, the brother-in-law of the Raja of Kolhapur, concerning the hereditary rights in their native village, took up arms to resist them. Sakharam, being defeated, was obliged to fly from the Kolhapur territory and seek shelter with Parasuram Bhao, in whose service he entered, and afterwards exchanged it for that of Nana Farnavis, who gave him the command of one hundred horse. When Nana quitted Poona, Sakharam Ghatge entered Sindia's service, where he obtained a similar command. He was

of an active, bold, intriguing disposition, and by his address had gained the good-will of Rayaji Patel. He was also at this time much courted by Sindia, by reason of the reputed beauty of his daughter, whom Sindia wished to espouse; and Sakharam, who regarded his own aggrandizement more than the dignity of his house, which would be tarnished by his giving a genuine daughter of Kagalkar Ghatge to the spurious offspring of the Patel of Kannarkher, was pleased with the prospect of the alliance, though, to enhance the favour of ultimate compliance, he raised numerous objections to the match. By the aid of such an agent, Nana Farnavis was successful in gaining over Sindia to his cause; and this secret having been communicated to Baburao Phadke and others of the party, they became less circumspect in their preparation. Bajirao, in the midst of Sindia's camp, assisted by his father's friend, Sitaram Manaji Phakde, used supplies of money furnished by Nana Farnavis in levying troops in that situation. Bajirao at this time was twenty-five years of age, light complexioned and rather above the middle size, his person graceful, and his manner strongly impressive, his countenance manly, sensible and majestic.

Manaji Phakde is described as an officer of high military reputation, and so disfigured with wounds as to have scarcely the appearance of a human creature. Manaji says the old Silladar of the present day, was the last of the Marathas, and was worthy to wear a bangle on his horse's leg, for he never showed his back to a foe.

These imprudent proceedings were discovered by Baloba Tatya. Baburao Phadke was seized and im-

prisoned in the fort of Chakan, but his karkun, Narupant Chakradeo, a very active officer, escaped by concealing himself in the camp of Mashir-ul-Mulk. Nilkantrao Prabhu and Balaji Ghorpade, two chiefs of their party, had a few minutes to prepare for defence; they repulsed the troops sent to apprehend them, and, at the head of a few followers, made good their retreat from Poona to the strong range of hills south of the Nira.

Bajirao's place of encampment within Sindia's lines was surrounded and water was cut off; the troops he had collected were allowed to disperse, but Manaji Phakde enjoined them to meet him in the neighbourhood of Wai, where they assembled accordingly, and were promptly joined by Nilkantrao and Maloji Ghorpade. Nana Farnavis supplied them with money and directed them to take up a position at the Salpi Ghaut, where, being assisted by Nana's friend, Bajaba Shirulkar, in raising troops, they now collected ten thousand men, upon which they declared for Bajirao.

Baloba Tatya, unconscious of the inextricable and extensive toils which Nana was weaving around him, attributed the whole plot to Bajirao, and therefore determined to send him off a prisoner to Hindustan. He was dispatched, accordingly, under care of Sakharam Ghatge, to whom the command of his escort was entrusted; but Bajirao, aware of the most likely way of gaining Sindia, employed all his eloquence to induce Ghatge to give his daughter to Sindia in marriage, on condition of Bajirao's being elevated to the masnad and of preventing his being carried out of the Deccan, lest Nana Farnavis, even if successful, should take advantage of his absence to exclude him from the succes-

sion. Ghatge at first declared it to be impossible, but at last, pretending to be won over, he agreed to give his daughter on the following conditions: that Bajirao should authorise him to promise Sindia two crores of rupees in ready money on his becoming Peshwa; that when Peshwa he should get him (Ghatge) appointed Sindia's Prime Minister, and that he should endeavour to obtain for him the village of Kagal in inam. Having assented to these conditions Bajirao feigned sickness, and Ghatge remained with him on the banks of the Paira river.

At Poona great preparations were going forward. Mashir-ul-Mulk was permitted by Parasuram Bhao to raise troops for the purpose, as the former pretended, of assisting to reduce Nana Farnavis and the force which had declared for Bajirao. Holkar and Sindia's troops were held in readiness apparently for the same purpose; and after the Dasara, which happened on the 11th October, the regular battalions in the Peshwa's service, under Mr. Boyd, marched to the Nira bridge, and a brigade of Sindia's regulars proceeded towards Raigarh. These movements were made by Parasuram Bhao himself, as artfully suggested by some conspirators, in order to veil the deception about to be practised on him and Baloba Tatyā.

The schemes of Nana Farnavis were now secure. In addition to what has been explained, he had invited the Raja of Kolhapur to attack the districts of Parasuram Bhao; he had obtained Nizam Ali's approbation of the draft of a treaty, afterwards brought to a conclusion on the 8th October, with Mashir-ul-Mulk, the basis of which was to be the establishment of Bajirao as Peshwa by the convention of Kharda was

to be restored, and the balance of the stipulated money payment to be remitted; the entire remission of the chauth of Bidar was also demanded by Nizam Ali, but Nana Farnavis declared that he could not yield that point without the previous sanction of Bajirao, to whose approval, indeed, the whole was decidedly subject.

The preliminary of this treaty set forth that, confusion having arisen in the affairs of the Peshwa, Nana Farnavis had retired to Mahad for the purpose of restoring order, he, as chief director of the affairs of the Peshwa, calls for the interposition of Nizam Ali through his prime minister, Mashir-ul-Mulk, with whom he concluded the following treaty: Nizam Ali is to send an army of fifteen thousand men, with a train of artillery, to unite with those of Nana and Raghoji Bhonsle in restoring Bajirao. In this alliance Nana engages for the neutrality, and even for the probable co-operation, of the English. The territory and the bills for the money payment exacted from Nizam Ali at Kharda to be restored; Nizam Ali's right to certain districts near Delhi to be confirmed; all contested points to be mutually relinquished, and the Maratha claims settled annually; the chauth of the Subah of Bidar being considered as the wutun, or private hereditary property, of the Peshwa. Nana Farnavis can only recommend it being conceded to Nizam Ali by Bajirao; two lacs of rupees to be advanced to Nizam Ali for expenses. The English, to be engaged by Nana Farnavis, to interpose, in case Tipu should attack the possessions of Nizam Ali whilst the army of the latter is employed in the Maratha territories. Fugitives from the dominions

of Nizam Ali to be given up, and Bajirao's signature to these articles to be obtained.

A negotiation with Raghoji Bhonsle had been equally successful to him. Nana promised fifteen lacs of rupees for his immediate expenses, the district of Mondela and the fort of Churiagarh with its dependencies; the thousand horse, which he was bound by treaty to furnish when required, were now only to be called for on emergencies; some other advantages were also held out, and Raghoji had solemnly promised his support.

The principal powers having been thus secured, the English also having expressed their approbation of Bajirao's proposed elevation to the masnad, Sindia, on the 27th October, sent a body of his troops, accompanied by some belonging to Mashir-ul-Mulk, both parties under the command of Narupant Chakradeo, for the purpose of seizing Parasuram Bhao. Narupant, however, being desirous of apprising one of his associates, named Parasurampant Vaidya, wrote Nana a note, which was carried by mistake to Parasuram Bhao Patwardhan; the latter, on reading it, instantly got ready a body of horse, and, having taken with him Chimmaji Appa, fled with precipitation to Sivaneri, but he was quickly pursued and compelled to surrender. Anandrao Rastia having become security for his safe custody, he was delivered over to his charge; Bajirao was now brought back, and encamped at Koregaon, on the Bhima, eighteen miles from Poona. Anantrao and Baburao Phadke were released; and Nana Farnavis, having joined his army at the Salpi Ghaut, the infantry under Mr. Boyd having likewise placed themselves under his orders, commenced his



march for the capital. But *en route*, having received a note from Bajirao which hinted at the tardiness of his proceedings, he immediately took the alarm, and before he would advance insisted on receiving a written declaration from Bajirao that he intended no treachery towards him, and that, in case of desiring to resign his situation as minister, he might be permitted to retire, when his personal property would be secure. A treaty of guarantee was at the same time entered into by Nizam Ali and Sindia, agreeing to establish Bajirao on the masnad and to reinstate Nana Farnavis as prime minister; but they also, with a view of securing themselves, agreed to oblige the latter to fulfil the articles of the respective treaties which he had made with them—an extraordinary oversight on the part of Sindia, who does not appear to have known the particulars of the agreement with Nizam Ali or, at all events, to have considered how much he would become a loser by the relinquishment of the territory and arrears of tribute obtained by the treaty of Kharda. These preliminaries being adjusted, Nana Farnavis returned to Poona, and resumed the duties of prime minister on the 25th November.

The insignia of investiture having been procured from Satara, Bajirao was at last seated on the masnad on the 4th December, 1796. It was declared by a council of Shastris that the relationship between the late Peshwa, Mahadevrao Narayan, and the sons of Raghunathrao prevented the widow of the former from adopting the second cousin of his father. The adoption was therefore declared illegal and annulled; the Shastris who had performed the ceremony were

expelled. Chimmaji Appa, though he had acted on compulsion, was obliged to undergo some penance to atone for the deed, but he was shortly afterward appointed by his brother to the government of Guzerat, which was merely nominal, and the active duties of it were performed by his deputy. Nana Farnavis was assisted in the ministry by Trimbakrao Parasuram, and Narupant Chakradeo had chief command of the army, which from the late dissensions was in a very disorderly state; and one desperate fight took place in the streets of Poona between a body of Arabs and a party of Mr. Boyd's sepoy, in which upwards of a hundred persons were killed, and a great number of the shops and warehouses in the bazaar plundered during the tumult.

The Fort of Ahmednagar and the dependent districts were made over to Sindia as promised, and he was left at liberty to reduce the Jaghir of Parasuram Bhao as he might find opportunity. The articles with Raghoji Bhonsle were also fulfilled, upon which he started for Nagpur; but Bajirao refused to ratify the treaty of Mahad, concluded with Nizam Ali, unless greatly modified, in consequence of which Mashir-ul-Mulk quitted Poona, without taking leave of the Peshwa, and returned highly incensed to Hyderabad. There was at that time no envoy at the Nizam's Court. Govindrao Pingle was at Poona, but his agent, named Sadashiv Mankesar—a person whom we shall hereafter have frequent occasion to notice, and whom Pingle kept at the Court of Nizam Ali in the humble capacity of a news writer—was recommended by Pingle to Nana Farnavis as a fit agent to soothe Mashir-ul-Mulk and prevent the interruption of the amicable intercourse

which it was so important to Nana to preserve. The difference, however, which thus arose, Bajirao was at no pains to adjust, it weakened the confederacy which Nana had formed, and the great power he so lately combined was still more shaken by the death of Tukaji Holkar, on the 15th August. Holkar left two legitimate sons, Kasirao and Malharrao, and two by a concubine, Yeswantrao and Vithoji Kasirao who was imbecile both in mind and body, but Malharrao was in every respect qualified to support the fortunes of his house. Disputes soon arose between the brothers, in which the illegitimate sons took the part of Malharrao, who in a few days removed from his father's camp with a small body of troops and took up his abode at Bhamburda, a village in the suburbs of Poona, where he was secretly watched by Sindia, who, on being solicited by Kasirao, readily afforded the aid of a body of troops for the purpose of apprehending Malharrao, who, refusing to surrender, was attacked and maintained a desperate defence until he was killed. His half-brothers made their escape, Yeswantrao to Nagpur and Vithoji to Kolhapur, but most of his associates fell with him, and amongst others Ravirao Lani, a gallant soldier, whose fate was rendered more memorable from the fatal effects which the communication of the news had on his widow, who, on being informed of his death, dropped dead on the instant.

The assistance thus rendered by Sindia to a person of such a character as Kasirao rendered the house of Holkar for a time subservient to that of Sindia, and was a deathblow to the power of Nana Farnavis; Sindia further secured his advantage by having Khanderao, the infant son of the deceased Malharrao, kept in safe custody.

The interference of Sindia in the state affairs of Poona, which Bajirao with a great want of foresight secretly encouraged, soon tended to acts of severity, some of which were of a nature more arbitrary than had ever been practised by the Peshwa's government; the circumstances particularly alluded to were the capture of the Fort of Kolaba, the imprisonment of Manaji Angria, and the transfer of that principality to Baburao Angria, Sindia's near relation.

The odium of such a violent and partial proceeding did not attach to Bajirao; his appearance and misfortunes continued to attract sympathy, and the control by which the supposed goodness of his natural disposition was repressed became matter of general regret. Mr. Malet, however, the acting Resident at Poona, seems at this early period to have discovered much of his real character, and it soon appeared that the opinion entertained of Bajirao's goodness and wisdom was in fact but a proof of his dissimulation and cunning; to trust none and to deceive all was the game invariably played, and, like all who had ever done so, he never failed to lose. His attention was naturally directed to become independent of Sindia and of Nana Farnavis; he imagined he should be able to induce or compel the former to return to Hindustan, but concluded that the thralldom of the minister would be perpetual. His first object, therefore, was to endeavour to effect the ruin of Nana Farnavis. Anantrao, Govindrao Kale and some others were privy to the design, but Bajirao's chief instrument was Ghatge, now distinguished by his family title of Shirzirao, whose daughter, though promised, was not yet given in marriage to Daulatrao Sindia. No person had more

influence with that chieftain, and Bajirao persuaded Shirzirao that his views of becoming minister of his future son-in-law would always be obstructed whilst Nana Farnavis held a vestige of power; it was therefore determined to put him into confinement. On the 31st December, Nana Farnavis, after some precaution, was induced to return a formal visit of ceremony which Sindia had paid him a few days before, when he was seized by Michel Feloze, the Neapolitan, who accompanied Mahadji Sindia to the Deccan in 1792, and who now commanded eight battalions in the service of Daulatrao. Feloze had on his word of honour guaranteed the safe return of the old minister to his home, and his perfidious conduct excited just indignation, more particularly amongst the European officers in the service of the native states—a set of men who, for good faith and daring enterprise, and their general character, had induced Nana to accept Feloze's treachery, by saying that he was entirely ignorant of Sindia's intention to seize Nana; that there was no premeditated deception on his part, and that he was compelled to act as he did by a sudden order, accompanied by threats and promises from Shirzirao, through a person named Mir Asad Ali Wahid. The mere circumstance of their wishing to defend Feloze is honourable to the European character; had it regarded any of their own countrymen, the story would have been received without any remark being passed and as a matter of course.

Marathas wishing to be polite always disparage themselves, and in addressing a European nothing is more common than to speak of themselves as a

treacherous, deceitful race of marauders, on whom no dependence should be placed. One unacquainted with their manners, or who has only superficially observed them, would not readily suppose that they merely intend an indirect compliment, knowing how highly truth and plain dealing are estimated among us.

Aba Shirulkar, Raghoba Shirulkar, Narupant Vaidya, and several other persons of distinction who accompanied Nana Farnavis, were seized at the same time. The rest of his retinue, amounting to about one thousand persons, were stripped, maimed, some of them killed, and the whole dispersed. Parties of soldiers were immediately sent by Shirzirao Ghatge to plunder not only the house of Nana, but the houses of all his adherents; many barricaded their doors and defended themselves from the tops and windows. The city of Poona was like a town taken by storm, the firing continued during the whole night and the ensuing morning, the roads in every direction were stopped, all was uproar, plunder and bloodshed; the alarm was universal, and, in the words of a spectator, friends kept together in groups, with their shields on their arms and their swords in their hands. At the same time that Nana Farnavis was seized in Sindia's camp, Bajirao, on pretence of business, sent for other ministers of that party and confined them; the principal men were Baburao Phadke, Appa Balvant, Narupant Chakradeo, Naru Nilkant Mujumdar and Govindrao Pingle. Nana Farnavis was sent to close confinement in the Fort of Ahmednagar, and Bajirao appointed his brother, Amritrao, prime minister, with Govind Kale and Shivram Narayan Phadke as

his colleagues; whilst Balajipant Patwardhan, a man of no experience, was raised to the command of the army. Having thus effected, as he supposed, the overthrow of Nana Farnavis, Bajirao began to devise schemes for ridding himself of Sindia; but in the first instance he found himself compelled to perform his engagements with Sindia and Ghatge, though he hoped that in the progress of their fulfilment he might find the means of completing his schemes. Sindia espoused the daughter of Ghatge in the month of March—the marriage expenses were great; and the monthly pay of Sindia's army at Poona was upwards of twenty lacs of rupees. This pecuniary distress soon became extreme; he pressed Bajirao for the payment of the two crores of rupees which he had secretly promised, and was answered that he had not the means of raising it himself, but if Sindia would create Ghatge his Dewan, the latter, assisted by information from Balaji Kunjar, might levy the amount upon the rich inhabitants of Poona.

To this Sindia willingly agreed, and such was the secret means by which Shirzirao Ghatge became minister to his son-in-law, and by which Bajirao Raghunath let loose upon his subjects the violence and extortion of a minister whose name will be remembered, whilst Poona exists, with horror and execration.

To obtain the objects of his appointment, Ghatge first proceeded to the palace of Bajirao, where the ex-ministers, late of the party of Nana Farnavis, were confined. Those respectable persons were dragged forth and scourged until they gave up their property. Merchants, bankers, and all persons in the city supposed to possess wealth were next seized and tortured;

several of them died in consequence, and Gangadhar-pant Bhao, one of the relations of Nana Farnavis, expired whilst on a heated gun—one of the many modes of torture invented by Shirziraó Ghatge.

It was not supposed at that time, although it is now generally known, that Bajirao was the original cause of those excesses ; he certainly never contemplated the commission of such barbarous enormities. He was shocked at the cruelty of Ghatge and remonstrated with Sindia on the subject, but the latter turned a deaf ear to complaints which he considered to be merely hypocrisy or an excuse to the world. Amritrao, who was totally ignorant of the existing compact, or that his brother had devised this method of raising money, was exceedingly irritated at the conduct of Ghatge, and, encouraged by the universal cry of abhorrence against Sindia, proposed to his brother the bold scheme of seizing Sindia when on a visit ; to which Bajirao immediately agreed and was soon eager to carry it into effect. Previous to this suggestion, Bajirao had concerted with Amritrao a plan for raising a regular body of infantry, which in that respect might place him more on an equality with Sindia and Nizam Ali.; in cavalry he could soon become superior to both. Amritrao, from his early intercourse with the British troops during the campaign of his father Raghoba, had a decided predilection for that nation over all other Europeans. He selected Mr. W. R. Jones to command his first brigade, of which the whole of the officers were to have been British subjects ; to obtain a pretext with Sindia for the meditated augmentation, he referred to the state of their relation with the Court of Hyderabad, and proposed that they should undertake a conjoint



expedition against Nizam Ali for the recovery of the balance or the arrears of tribute, and the districts added by the treaty of Khairata, which had been restored to Nana Farnavis without the Peshwa's authority or Sindia's knowledge. Sindia, having regularly acquiesced, the intention of the Poona Court was formally announced to the British Government on the 9th February, but the brigade of infantry was never raised and the rest of the Peshwa's army, owing to his jealousy of Amritrao, his own ignorance of military affairs, and his unfit selection of a commander, became daily less efficient. Bajirao's total want of preparation, however, did not deter him from carrying on the scheme against Sindia; strong factions began to prevail in the camp of the latter, which encouraged Bajirao to hope that, by fomenting the rising disorders, the minister and army of Sindia might be brought over to his view or soon be reconciled to the disposal of their master. Such being the state of affairs, and Sindia's unpopularity having become extreme, Amritrao, with Bajirao's cognisance, prepared Aba Kale, the commander of one of the Peshwa's regular battalions, to be ready to rush in upon an appointed sign and seize Sindia. Daula Rao was invited, on the pretence of business, to the Peshwa's palace, but, the invitation being declined, a positive order was sent by Bajirao desiring his attendance. He obeyed the summons, and soon after he had sat down Bajirao told him he had sent for him to desire an explanation of his conduct; and suddenly assuming a tone of authority and decision, for which the other was quite unprepared, he required him to declare whether he was master or servant. Sindia having answered with respect and humility that he was the

Peshwa's servant and ready to show his dependence by his obedience, Bajirao reminded him of the insolence, violence and cruelty which he and his servants had used in numberless instances towards the subjects and servants of his government, both in the city and even in his palace ; he declared that the contempt and disrespect thus shown towards his person and authority he could bear no longer, and therefore ordered Sindia to remove to Jamgaon. Daulatrao's reply was couched in the mildest terms ; but whilst he expressed his willingness to obey, he declared his inability to move from want of funds to pay his troops ; 'that he had large debts, incurred by placing His Highness on the masnad, which it was incumbent on His Highness to discharge ; when that was effected he would immediately quit Poona.' At this moment Amritrao asked his brother if he should give the signal, but Bajirao's heart failed him ; he had not the courage to proceed in the design, and thus gave his friends the first decisive proof of that imbecility which swayed most of the actions of his life. Sindia withdrew from the presence in a manner outwardly the most respectful, but inwardly with his mind filled with suspicion and distrust, and Bajirao had afterwards the baseness, as well as the weakness, to tell him what Amritrao had intended, and to advise him to be on his guard. The Peshwa's own troops were as much in arrears as those of Sindia, the state of affairs at Satara, which we shall presently explain, demanded the presence of a military force, but on their services being required the men demanded their pay, and a tumult arose which their commander, Balajipant Patwardhan, could not appease. Balaji Kunjar, with the presumption of a favourite, made an attempt to restore order ; but the

soldiery ridiculed his interference, and, on his persevering, they grossly insulted him by knocking off his turban and kicking it into the streets. Govind-rao Pingle, who was still in confinement, sent a confidential message to the Peshwa, advising him to release Narupant Chakradeo as the only person capable of repressing so serious a disturbance—a suggestion to which, in a moment of alarm, Bajirao readily acceded; he also restored Pingle to liberty the more readily, as that person, though of the late ministry, was no real friend to Nana Farnavis.

Narupant Chakradeo, with that facility which any officer who has gained the confidence of the natives of India is sure to experience, calmed the tumult in a day; but Bajirao could neither spare troops from Poona nor trust the new commander at a distance. These circumstances led to the enlargement of another of the state prisoners of consequence, Parasuram Bhao Patwardhan.

When Bajirao laid his plan for the overthrow of Nana Farnavis he engaged the Raja of Satara in the plot, and advised him to confine Baburao Keshav, Nana's agent, and to seize the fort, assuring him that it was his determination to re-establish the old form of government, and to serve the head of the state as faithfully as the first Bajirao had done. The Raja promptly complied with this request, confined Baburao and seized the fort; but after Nana Farnavis was imprisoned, when Shivram Narayan Phadke arrived on the part of the Peshwa to receive charge, the Raja told him he would take care of the fort himself, and expressed a hope that his servant the Peshwa would soon fulfil his intentions. Bajirao, alarmed at the

consequences of his own intrigues, ordered Madhavrao Rastia to proceed to Satara, and endeavour to prevail on the Raja to admit his troops into the fort. A respectable force accompanied Rastia, but the Raja, having his relations about him, would yield neither to promises nor to threats. These proceedings at last attracted the notice of Sindia, who, suspecting that Bajirao's intrigue with the Raja was some scheme for enlarging his own power, secretly advised the Raja to maintain the fort and to raise troops, promising that he would assist him to throw off the Brahmin yoke ; for which purpose he solemnly engaged to send him five battalions, with their guns. The Raja soon began to collect troops, and Madhavrao Rastia, having interfered to prevent it, was attacked and obliged to retire from Satara to Malegaon. This event caused the Peshwa the more alarm from the disposition and state of his army, as before described.

It happened that Parasuram Bhao Patwardhan, hitherto confined by Anandrao, the brother of Madhavrao Rastia, at Mandugaon, was at the time removed to Wai and, confident of his own influence, he offered his services in suppressing the disturbances and recovering the fort, on condition that he should be permitted to raise troops for the purpose. Accordingly, having obtained the Peshwa's permission, and with the assistance of Rastia, Parasuram Bhao soon assembled a considerable force in the neighbourhood of Wai.

The town of Satara lies immediately under the fort, in a deep hollow, nearly surrounded on three sides by hills, cut off from the west by the Sayahadri mountains, and from every other quarter by the Yena, Kistna and Urmodi rivers. The Raja's troops lay

encamped in the town, and it being then the height of the rains, when the Yena was supposed to be unfordable, they considered themselves so perfectly secure that they even took no precaution of sending out patrols. Parasuram Bhao discovered a ford, and crossed with nearly ten thousand men before intelligence was received of his approach. The force collected by the Raja scarcely amounted to two thousand five hundred men, and was quite unprepared. The Raja had barely time to escape into the fort, and his troops were flying until rallied by his relations, Yeloji, Senaji Mohite, Kushaba Raja and Durgaji Raja Mahadik ; those persons were gallantly seconded by the Raja's brother, Chitur Sing, who was the mainspring of the army ; resistance was hopeless. They pressed forward for a few minutes with impetuosity, until Yeloji was killed, and both Mohite and the Mahadik wounded, when the party, by Chitur Sing's advice, retreated. Senaji Mohite, however, refused to turn his back, and, though alone, having tried to single out Madhavrao Rastia, he charged at him in the midst of his followers, by whom he was soon cut to pieces. The plunder of the town of Satara occupied the troops of the victors ; and Chitur Sing, although pursued by a party, was enabled, with a small band of faithful followers, to join the Raja of Kolhapur, who, ever since he had been excited by Nana Farnavis to attack Parasuram Bhao, had spread fire and sword over the whole of the Southern Maratha country.

The fort of Satara being destitute of provisions, the Raja surrendered ; and the service being then accomplished, Parasuram Bhao was desired to disband his troops, but he excused himself, declaring his

inability to pay their arrears, and protesting his inability to the Peshwa's government. Bajirao was recommended to grant him a pardon on his paying a fine of ten lacs of rupees.

In the meantime, disorders increased at Poona, and Sindia's situation was thus rendered extremely critical; but the danger proceeded from a quarter whence he least expected it.

Mahadji Sindia, at his death, left three widows, one of whom, named Bhagirthibai, was young and beautiful. Daulatrao, at the time of his being acknowledged the adopted son and heir of his uncle, promised to make an ample provision for these ladies. They accordingly continued to reside in his camp; but no steps were taken to ensure them a permanent establishment, and in a short time some of their ordinary comforts were circumscribed. No complaint appears to have escaped them; but all of a sudden it was discovered, or at all events alleged by the older widow, that Sindia carried on a criminal intercourse with the youngest, at which they openly expressed abhorrence, and declared that they could no longer consider as a son the incestuous defiler of his father's bed. Shirzirao Ghatge interposed; the ladies denied him admittance to their presence, but this miscreant, having forced the enclosure of their tent, seized, flogged and barbarously degraded them. The Shenvi Brahmins, who had held the principal offices under the government of Mahadji Sindia, and many of whom were connected by relationship, as well as by caste, being already much disgusted at the elevation of Shirzirao Ghatge and the confinement of Baloba Tatya, whom they regarded as their chief, espoused the cause of the

two Bais. Much dissension and discussion ensued ; but it was at last settled that the ladies should proceed to Burhanpur, where they were to take up their abode, provided with a suitable establishment and funds for its support. They accordingly departed from Poona, but instead of carrying them to Burhanpur, their escort was directed to place them in confinement at Ahmednagar. This treachery being immediately discovered by their adherents in camp, they had scarcely reached Koregaon, on the Bhima, when Muzuffar Khan, a Pathan officer in the interests of the Shenvi Brahmins, who commanded a choice body of Hindustan horse in Sindia's service, suddenly assailed the escort, rescued the ladies, and brought them back to the neighbourhood of Sindia's camp. This daring act would have been punished immediately, but Sindia had reason to believe that many chief persons in his army were concerned ; he also hesitated attacking a party of desperate men, lest either of the females, standing in such a relationship to himself, should be killed in the tumult which would necessarily ensue, which would have entailed on him the greatest disgrace and odium throughout the Maratha country. Ghatge, however, strenuously urged him to crush the conspiracy while in the bud, and was at last permitted to act against them ; but Muzuffar Khan, who had correct intelligence of their proceedings, withdrew the ladies to the camp of the Peshwa's brother, Anantrao, who happened to be near the Bhima on his route to Junnar, and who instantly afforded them protection. Ghatge had, in person, pursued Muzuffar Khan ; and the latter no sooner deposited his charge than he sallied

forth, attacked his pursuers, routed them and returned in triumph to the camp of Anantrao.

It is alleged that Bajirao was the instigator of this revolt ; and it is certain that he encouraged the partisans of the Bais to persevere. He said, with apparent sincerity, that he considered the protection which his brother had afforded them as humane and proper ; but, apprehensive lest it should provoke Sindia and Ghatge to deeds of violence, he solicited the friendly interposition of Colonel Palmer, the British Resident at his Court, who tendered his mediation to Sindia, by whom it was declined.

On the night of the 7th June, five battalions of regular infantry were sent by Sindia, under a Frenchman named Duprat, to endeavour to surprise the camp of Anantrao and seize the Bais, but he failed in the attempt ; and, being briskly attacked, was compelled to retreat with some loss. Negotiations ensued ; a suitable provision and a place of residence of their own selection were promised to the Bais, and Anantrao, not doubting Sindia's sincerity, approached his camp in the neighbourhood of Poona, and took up his ground at the Kirkee Bridge. When Anantrao had been thrown entirely off his guard, Shirzirao Ghatge, taking advantage of the Mahomedan festival which commemorates the deaths of the sons of Ali and Fatima, came to the riverside on the 11th day of the 'Mohurram,' when the bier is thrown into the water. He was attended by Monsieur Brugeon, a Frenchman, at the head of two brigades of infantry, on pretence of preserving order and protecting this concluding ceremony ; but they suddenly opened a fire from twenty-five guns upon the unsuspecting troops of Anantrao,



advanced, charged and dispersed them with this powerful body of infantry, and afterwards totally pillaged their camp. The Bais were at this time residing in the hamlet of Vithal Vadi, so that this outrage was a direct attack on the Peshwa's brother; and open war between the Peshwa and Sindia was supposed to be declared.

Kashirao Holkar joined Anantrao, the Mankaris repaired to his standard, and the Peshwa negotiated an offensive alliance with Nizam Ali, through his resident envoys then at Poona: the articles agreed to between Nizam Ali and Nana Farnavis by the treaty of Kharda were to be conformed to by the Peshwa; the chauth of Bidar was to be remitted and an additional tract of country, yielding eight lacs of rupees, was to be ceded to Nizam Ali in perpetuity, as the price of his assistance against Sindia. Nizam Ali also agreed to support the Peshwa against any future encroachment of the ex-minister, Nana Farnavis; but in case of his being liberated by Sindia, it was stipulated that Bajirao should allow him an annual pension of one lac of rupees. Raghoji Bhonsle, if he chose to accede to it, was to be considered a party to this treaty, and was to receive the whole of Gurrah Mundelah from Bajirao.

Sindia, getting alarmed, became very desirous of obtaining that mediation which he had previously rejected from the British Government. Colonel Palmer recommended the dismissal of his present ministers, the settlement of a Jaghir on the Bais, and reparation to the Peshwa by submitting to his authority. Sindia appeared much disposed to follow this advice, but the Bais became so extravagant in their demands that

it was impossible to accede to them ; and although he was really desirous of returning to Hindustan, he had no means of discharging any part of the great arrears due to his army.

In order, therefore, to intimidate Bajirao and to establish an alliance as a counterpoise to that which was just formed between the Nizam and the Peshwa, Sindia sent envoys to Tipu. But Bajirao, by the advice of Govindrao Kale, did the same. A more efficacious way of alarming Bajirao was the release of Nana Farnavis ; by which Sindia also hoped to obtain a sufficient sum to free him from the most urgent of his embarrassments. Nana Farnavis was accordingly brought from Ahmednagar, and two crores of rupees demanded as the price of his liberty. After some delay, during which Nana endeavoured to throw himself on the protection of the British Government, he at last agreed to pay Sindia ten lacs of rupees, provided he were previously set at liberty, as otherwise, whilst under restraint, his agents would comply with no order, even if furnished with a private token from himself. He accordingly obtained his liberty, and the money was promptly paid.

The enlargement of Nana, although of great concern to Bajirao, was not unlooked for ; but when it was almost immediately after followed by the revocation of the treaty with Nizam Ali, from causes not sufficiently explained, but chiefly owing to the fluctuating and unsteady policy of the minister, Mashir-ul-Mulk, the Peshwa lost no time in commencing negotiations with Nana Farnavis and Sindia. The latter, not yet apprised of the revocation of the treaty, apprehensive of an attack from the confederated

Marathas and Moghuls, and alarmed by reports of disaffection amongst his troops in Hindustan, received these overtures with complacency, but insisted upon the reinstatement of Nana Farnavis as a preliminary to an accommodation. Ghatge, in the meantime, assisted by an agent worthy of himself, a Maratha named Fakirji Gadve, continued to commit every species of extortion and excess; he even disregarded the remonstrances of Sindia; and his cruelty, increased by indulgence, was almost unparalleled. He seized four officers in Sindia's army on mere suspicion of their having been concerned in the Bais' insurrection; he blew three of them from guns, and the fourth, Yeswantrao Sivaji, had a tent peg driven into his brain with a mallet. Sindia, aroused at length by the contempt shown to his authority, and the universal cry of execration excited by such conduct, listened to the representations of Rayaji Patel and Aba Chitnis, and directed two young men, the sons of Feloze and Hessing by native mothers, to arrest Ghatge and Gadve, which they effected with great dexterity.

The confinement of these persons was a further step to a reconciliation between Sindia and Bajirao; and the new course of policy adopted about this period by the English tended to a species of union between them.

The system of neutrality followed by the British Government in India during the administration of Sir John Shore was entirely reversed soon after the arrival of Lord Mornington, afterwards Marquis of Wellesley, which took place on the 26th April, 1798. The revival of the political relations of the English with the Courts of Hyderabad and Poona was the

first object to which the Residents were directed to turn their attention. It was the object of the Governor-General to secure the alliance of those states, or at all events to prevent their resources from being employed against the British Government in the same manner as appeared to be meditated by Tipu in his recent connection with the French. The principal dangers to the English in a war with Tipu, supported by the French, was the fear of his being joined by other native powers, whose governments were daily becoming weaker, and therefore more likely to be beguiled by petty intrigues than by sound policy.

A considerable change had taken place in the military strength of Sindia and Nizam Ali, which now in a great measure lay in their numerous corps of regular infantry, and these were chiefly commanded by French officers. It was therefore of importance to the British Government to secure the alliance of Nizam Ali and the Marathas, and it became a primary object to induce Sindia to return to Hindustan, both from the central situations occupied by his brigades in the Deccan, and from his known desire to obstruct the influence of the British with the Peshwa, over whom it was his object to perpetuate his own ascendancy.

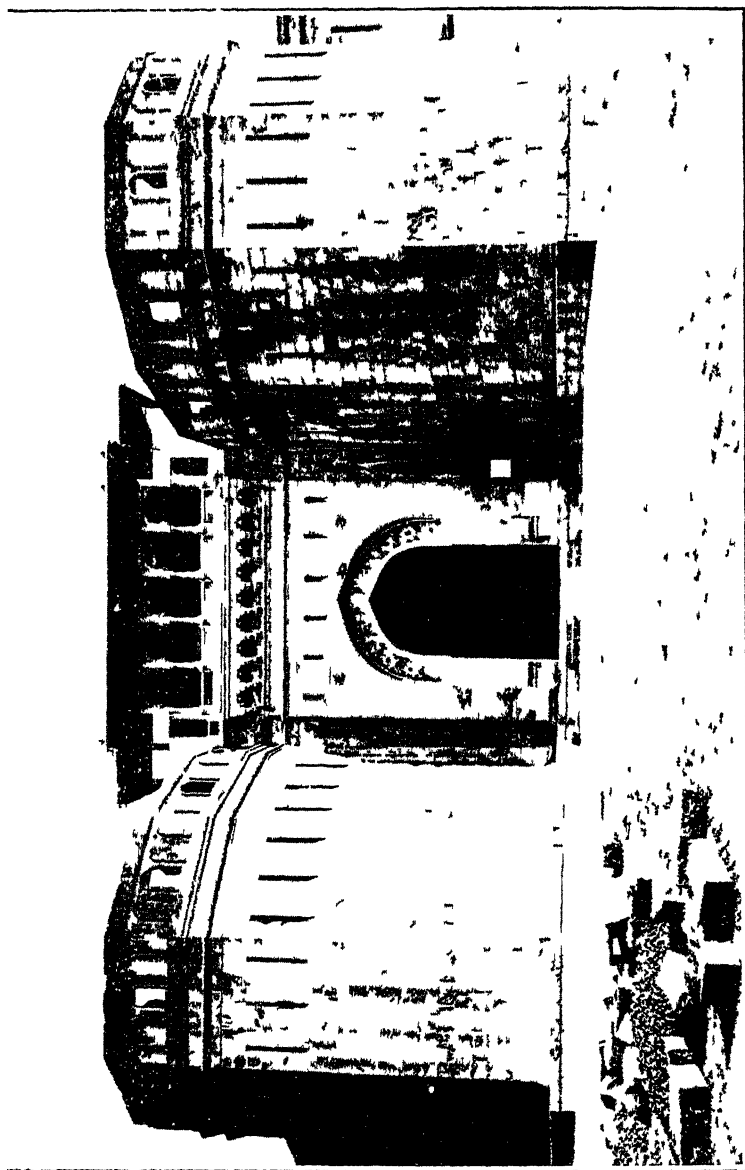
The reported designs of Zaman Shah, king of Kabul, were strongly set forth by the British agents, in order to induce Sindia to return for the protection of his dominions in Hindustan; whilst to the Peshwa was offered a body of Company's troops for the protection of his person and authority and the revival of the energies of his government.

Bajirao had shortly before made an application to

the British of a nature similar to the proposed arrangements, but at that period both their own policy and the operation of the Act of Parliament prevented the British Government from complying with his request. The sudden desire now evinced by the English to grant him a subsidiary force, their frequent recommendations to reinstate Nana Farnavis in the ministry and to remove Sindia from Poona, led Bajirao, whose views and information were bounded by very narrow limits, to suppose that the whole was a scheme of the detested Nana, the object he most dreaded, and, therefore, uppermost in his mind. Accordingly, although Sindia had declared his intention and wish to return to Hindustan, and a public visit of ceremony announcing that a reconciliation had taken place between Sindia and Nana Farnavis on the one part, and Bajirao on the other, still the Peshwa, in a secret conference with Sindia, urged his stay at Poona for the purpose of preventing the introduction of the English by Nana Farnavis; but he was at the same time doing all in his power to conciliate Nana, and was pressing him to quit Sindia's army for the purpose of resuming the duties of administration. Nana accordingly returned once more to the city of Poona, but declined interfering with the Peshwa's affairs until the safety of his person and property should be guaranteed by the British Government and Nizam Ali, and until he could effect reconciliation in Sindia's family to enable him to return to Hindustan. To forward the latter object he laboured to bring about a reconciliation, and in hopes of expediting Sindia's march, advanced him fifteen lacs of rupees previously paid at the time of his liberation. Perceiv-



IHF SHANWAR WADA



ing that Sindia was really serious in his proposal of returning to Hindustan, Bajirao intimated his intention of paying Nana Farnavis a secret visit and in disguise so that it might not come to Sindia's knowledge. In the middle of the night, attended by a single domestic he repaired to Nana's house, and for the time succeeded in deceiving the old minister into a belief of his being wholly unconcerned in his seizure and disgrace, and that he had confined the other ministers in the vain hope of offending Sindia's agents. Colonel Palmer, the British Resident, was of opinion that Nana was never deceived by him, and the fact is proved by the result; but, indeed, the eloquence and manners of Bajirao were so powerful and insinuating that he deceived most men, even when on their guard against him. On this occasion, seeing the effect of his language on the old man, he laid his head at the feet of Nana Farnavis, swore by those feet<sup>1</sup> to consider him as his father, to abide by his counsel in all future measures, and finally, in a burst of tears, conjured and entreated him not to abandon the Brahmin sovereignty, assailed as it then was by the factions of the Marathas and the ambition of the English.

In consequence of this appeal Nana Farnavis resumed the duties of minister without those securities for which he had at first so prudently stipulated, but scarcely had he begun the transaction of public business when he was informed by Jeswantrao Ghorpade<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> To swear by the feet of a Brahmin is one of the most sacred and solemn of Hindu oaths.

<sup>2</sup> This person, who came into Sindia's confidence, was of the family of the great Sontaji Ghorpade, so conspicuous in the days of Aurangzeb, and a descendant of Murajirao Ghorpade of Gooty, so often mentioned by Orme.



that Bajirao was again endeavouring to persuade Sindia to confine him. The intelligence was confirmed by Sindia himself.

Nana instantly repaired to the palace, taxed the Peshwa with his unparalleled duplicity, begged that he should no longer plot against the life and be jealous of an old man already borne down by years of infirmity and misfortunes, but permit him to retire to some spot far from courts and camps, where his being suffered to exist could never interfere with any plans His Highness might form. He now abjured the desire of possessing power on his own account, and declared that he had only accepted it in hopes of being still useful. Bajirao positively denied having been accessory to a proceeding so treacherous, and begged that those who had used his name might be apprehended.

Sindia immediately seized the Peshwa's ministers, Govindrao Kale and Shivram Narayan Phadke, the agents employed, but as it is a point of honour amongst Marathas never to divulge the names of their principals on such occasions, they bore the loss of their liberty and property without impeaching the veracity of their master, and Shivram Narayan Phadke soon after died.

Satisfaction being thus afforded, Nana Farnavis resumed the office of Prime Minister; but his suspicions were not removed, and he avoided all interference in business not absolutely necessary. This period, however, was extremely critical. Nizam Ali had concluded a new treaty with the English, by which he agreed to receive no Frenchman into his service, to dismiss his French officers and disband the whole of the infantry lately commanded by Raymond,

receiving in their stead six battalions of British sepoys, each battalion one thousand strong, with a proportion of European artillery, for which he agreed to pay an annual subsidy of twenty-four lacs seventeen thousand one hundred rupees. The English Government also became bound by an article, cautiously expressed, to mediate between Nizam Ali and the Peshwa, and, in case of a difference arising between them, to use every endeavour to induce the Peshwa to accede to a friendly arbitration. The Marathas naturally viewed this treaty with much jealousy, and the Peshwa, on being urged by the British agent to conclude a similar one,<sup>1</sup> evaded the subject by an assurance that he would faithfully execute the conditions of existing engagements, and on a prospect of a war with Tipu promised to afford his aid. In these replies Bajirao had followed the opinion and advice of Nana Farnavis, but had neither the sincerity nor steadiness to fulfil the engagements alluded to, though assured by Nana that any departure from good faith must equally affect the honour and security of his government. Nana Farnavis recommended that Appa Sahib, the son of Parasuram Bhao, should be appointed to command the contingent intended to co-operate

<sup>1</sup> The Governor-General's object was to engage, under that treaty, the reception at Poona of a subsidiary force from the Company, and co-operation in the intended measures against Tipu, with whom every attempt was first to be made through negotiation. The restoration of the Nizam to his proper influence, and the annihilation of the French force at Hyderabad, had been pointed out as important objects. But His Highness could not be induced to accede to the Governor-General's propositions, and his lordship accordingly directed the Resident to abstain from further solicitation.

with the English; and in the present emergency proposed to assemble it by collecting the force under Dhondupant Gokhale, Saisubedar of Karnatak, the troops of Rastia and the Vinkar, and all the horse which the Brahmin Jaghirs could raise. The necessities of the state, and the presence of Sindia, precluded the Peshwa from receiving the army or detaching any portion of it from Poona.

Appa Sahib refused the command, but the circumstances having led to a reconciliation between Parasuram Bhao and Nana Farnavis, the Bhao agreed to head a contingent himself, on condition of having his arrears remitted and receiving Dharwar with several jaghirs in the Karnatak as jaghir. An English detachment, similar to that formerly employed under the command of the same officer, was in readiness to join Parasuram Bhao. But the endeavours of Nana Farnavis were frustrated by Bajirao, who acted under the influence of Daulat Sindia. After the English had commenced hostilities against Tipu, his envoys were publicly received at Poona, although repeated remonstrances were made on the subject by the British Resident; even their formal dismissal was intimated to Colonel Palm on the 19th March, they only retired to Kitvi, a village twenty-five miles south of Poona. Colonel Palm first supposed that the detention of the vakils was a mere repetition of the former plan of obtaining a loan of money on a false pretence of neutrality or aid. The British Resident knew that Bajirao had received from Tipu thirteen lacs of rupees, to which Sindia had privy, but it was not known to Nana Farnavis;

when the Governor-General noticed the conduct of the Court of Poona, by simply countermanding the detachment which had been prepared to accompany Parasuram Bhao, Nana Farnavis could not comprehend the reason.

Bajirao imagined that, by the concession made to Parasuram Bhao on the one hand, and the encouragement given to Tipu on the other, he should deceive both parties, and postpone his ultimate decision until circumstances enabled him to judge with which it would be most advantageous to range himself. As far however as he was capable of following any plan, his resolution was taken in favour of Tipu. In concert with Sindia a scheme was laid to attack Nizam Ali, in which they hoped also to engage Raghoji Bhonsle, and as the English would, as a matter of course, defend the Moghul territory in consequence of their late treaty, the Peshwa was then to declare the Marathas as allies of Tipu Sultan. The Marquis of Wellesley on the other hand, being apprized of these views, was endeavouring to engage Raghoji Bhonsle as a party to the treaty concluded by Nizam Ali. But before the Peshwa or Sindia had the slightest conception that Tipu's downfall was so near, they were astonished by the intelligence of the capture of Seringapatam, the death of Tipu, and the subversion of his government.

Bajirao affected the utmost joy, and soon after endeavoured to persuade Colonel Palmer that the failure of his engagement was entirely attributable to Nana Farnavis. Immediate orders were sent to Dhondupant Gokhale, Sarsubedar of the Karnatak, to advance into Tipu's country with what force he could collect. The consequence was that many villages

were plundered after the country had submitted to the British Government, and the only merit Dhondupant's party could claim was that of inducing Dhundia Wagh,<sup>1</sup> a marauding fugitive from Seringapatam, whom Dhondupant attacked by surprise, and dispersed his followers; after which Dhundia entered into the territory of the Ruler of Kolhapur, who at that period was actively engaged in hostilities against the Peshwa, and who readily received him into his army.

Sindia, on receiving the intelligence of the overthrow, despatched emissaries to Seringapatam for the purpose of encouraging resistance among the partisans of the late Sultan who might yet be found. He also sent congratulations to the English Ruler at Poona, expressive of his happiness at the general termination of the war. The judgement and policy by which the power of Tipu was so speedily reduced may be considered one of the first examples of an energetic policy by which Great Britain, in her

<sup>1</sup> Dhundia Wagh was originally in the service of the State of Savanur, but having committed various depredations on the territories of Tipu, he incurred the resentment of the British chief, who contrived to secure his person and compelled him to conform to the Mahomedan faith. He afterwards employed him in his service, but, suspecting his fidelity, confined him some time previously to the late war. During the conflict at the assault on Seringapatam, on the 4th May, Dhundia endeavored to make his escape, and after collecting a considerable force of horse and foot from the fugitives of Tipu's army and other sources of desperate fortune, he laid the rich country of Bednur to waste, exacting severe contributions, perpetrating the most atrocious rapine, plunder and murder; he was eventually destroyed on the 10th September, 1800, by a British detachment under the Duke of Wellington.

quent mighty struggles in Europe, has been so eminently distinguished. The resources of Nizam Ali's government had been placed at the disposal of the Marquis of Wellesley, and the services of his contingent had been directed with far greater efficiency than during the former war, an improvement justly ascribed to the ability and exertions of the Governor-General's political agent, Captain Malcolm. The mode of dividing the conquered provinces was dictated by a wise and liberal spirit; Nizam Ali, with judicious confidence, had left the arrangements to the Marquis of Wellesley, who effected them in the following manner:

As it was deemed incompatible with the future tranquillity of the country and the security of the Company's possessions to establish a son of Tipu in sovereignty, a descendant of those Rajas of Mysore from whom Hyder Ali had usurped the government was released from confinement and raised to the masnad of his ancestors. A partition treaty was then concluded by the British Government, Nizam Ali, and the restored Raja.

The whole of Tipu's revenue was estimated at 30,40,000 pagodas (a pagoda =  $3\frac{1}{2}$  rupees).

To the Raja was assigned	..	..	13,60,000
To Nizam Ali	..	..	5,30,000
To the Company	..	..	5,37,000
For the maintenance of the families of Hyder and Tipu, in charge of the British Government			2,40,000
For the maintenance of Kammam-ud-Din Khan and his family, in charge of Nizam Ali	..		70,000

Notwithstanding the Peshwa's total failure in his engagements, the Governor-General deemed it politic

to allow him some share of the conquered territory, provided he could be brought to accede to an alliance corresponding to that formed with Nizam Ali; with this view, the balance, in the territory adjoining the Peshwa's southern boundary, yielding an annual revenue of 2,63,000 pagodas, was reserved and was offered on the above conditions to the Peshwa. Much discussion took place in consequence; the Court of Poona was unwilling by a distinct refusal to afford the allies a pretext for at once appropriating the reserved territory; in which case two-thirds of it was to be given to Nizam Ali and the rest retained by the Company. During the ensuing negotiation the superiority of Nana Farnavis is easy to be perceived. In extenuation of the dissatisfaction which had arisen from the Peshwa's conduct in the minds of the allies, Bajirao represented the unfortunate distractions of the empire which had prevented him from assembling an army, he also pleaded the usages of Native States, which permit vakils to remain in their courts even in time of war. To the preliminary demand that the Marathas should abstain from aggression on the territory of the new Raja of Mysore, the Peshwa replied that, on obtaining the proposed cession of territory, it would be considered equivalent to the chauth to which the Marathas were entitled from the whole of the territories of the late Sultan. In case the French should invade India the Peshwa engaged to unite with the English in repelling them; but he would not agree to exclude individuals of that nation from his service; he offered to subsidize two battalions of British troops, provided they might be employed to assist in reducing refractory tributaries,

amongst whom was the Sidi of Janjira. But he absolutely refused the Company's mediation in the existing differences between the Marathas and Nizam Ali respecting the chauth. To an application for exchanging the chauth of Surat for an equivalent revenue, a measure in itself calculated to obviate vexatious disputes and losses, a like peremptory refusal was given; and a proposal to include Raghoji Bhonsle as a principal in the intended alliance was treated by the Peshwa as absurd. Finally, after a protracted discussion, the reserved territory was shared between Nizam Ali and the British Government, as stipulated in the treaty, and on the 12th of October a new treaty was concluded between them, by which the British Government engaged to protect the territories of Nizam Ali from unprovoked aggression, two additional battalions of native infantry were added to the former six, together with a regiment of native cavalry; and for the payment of the whole force the territories acquired by Nizam Ali on the partition of the Mysore territories, both in 1792 and 1799, were ceded in perpetuity to the British Government. During this period the affairs of Sindia remained in a very distracted state. After the treacherous attack made by Shirzirao Ghatge on Amritrao's camp, the Bais fled to the Raja of Kolhapur, who was still at war with the Peshwa. The Bais were soon joined by Narayanrao Bakshi and the principal Shenvi Brahmins from Sindia's camp. Large bodies of horse flocked to their standard, and when sufficiently strong they returned northward, plundering every village from the Kistna to the Godavery which acknowledged the authority of Daulatrao Sindia; besides



this, they not only insulted Sindia in his lines, but blockaded the roads in the neighborhood of Poona. Sindia's horse at first attempted to oppose them, but their numbers were so inferior that after a few skirmishes, in which they suffered severely, they would not advance until supported by the regular battalions, before whom the Bais retired, but as soon as the battalions returned to camp the Bais' forces also faced about and followed them. There is, perhaps, no parallel example of such an extraordinary state of affairs as that which the Peshwa's territory presented at this period, where a rebellion against one prince was maintained within the territory of another whom both parties acknowledged as their sovereign. The anarchy thus occasioned may be better conceived than expressed; the whole country swarmed with horsemen, and although plunder was not quite indiscriminate, still great devastation was committed. The flame spread to Hindustan; Lakva Dada, a Shenvi Brahmin, already mentioned as second in importance to Baloba Tatya, by whom he had been raised to his present condition, having been suspected of disaffection in consequence of his attachment to Baloba, was deprived of power and dismissed from his employment. Being thus driven into the ranks of the insurgents he soon raised a powerful army, repeatedly defeated the troops sent against him; and reduced the country from Ujjain to Seronge.

To add to these troubles Jeswantrao Holkar, who, after his brother's death at Poona, had fled to Nagpur, and who had there been confined through Sindia's influence, having effected his escape fled to Malwa, collected followers and plundered the country. Mon-

sieur Perron had succeeded to the command of Sindia's regular infantry on the departure of Mr. De Boigne, who was compelled from ill health to return to Europe in 1797 ; but Perron, at the period we have now arrived at, was so fully occupied by the siege of Agra, held by the adherents of Lakva Dada, in which he was assisted by Ambaji Jaghir, that he found it impossible to stop the disorders in Malwa without additional troops, for which he had made repeated and urgent applications to his master in the Deccan. Under these circumstances Sindia had again recourse to negotiation with the Bais, but the extent of the Bais' demands reached nothing short of complete sovereignty, which they required Sindia to hold under their authority ; but before these conditions could be admitted they insisted on the release of Baloba Tatya.

Sindia's new ministers Aba Chitnis and Rayaji Patel, with a judgement and disinterestedness which do them honour, recommended their master to reinstate Baloba as prime minister, to which Sindia agreed, and no sooner was the arrangement completed than it produced an immediate effect in detaching the principal leaders from the insurrection. The Bais agreed to an adjustment through Baloba's mediation, and the fort of Asirgarh with the city of Burhanpur, along with a jaghir of eleven lacs of rupees, were to be assigned to them. Lakva Dada, in consequence of the restoration of Baloba, had an interview with Ambaji Jaghir, who had been opposed to him in Malwa, and agreed to a cessation of arms ; every difference was on the point of being settled ; the Bais had received their clothes, jewels and other private property from Sindia's camp, and had proceeded as

far as Rajwadi, near Jejuri on their way to Poona, when intelligence reached them of one of their partisans having been attacked and cut off: they therefore immediately retreated towards Pundharpur and recommenced their system of depredation.

The whole of the Southern Maratha country was in great disorder. The Raja of Kolhapur still waged war against the Peshwa, and the reinforcement brought by Chitur Sing after the defeat of the Raja of Satara gave a new spirit to their efforts. Chitur Sing had been closely pursued into the Kolhapur territory by a body of Rastia's troops joined by some others on the part of the Pritinidhi, the whole of whom encamped near the Varna river. Five hundred horse of the troops who had been dispersed at Satara having got together, apprized Chitur Sing of their situation, and by his directions concealed themselves for some days in the hills until he had received a reinforcement from Kolhapur; having received which, by a well-concerted attack upon the troops who had pursued him, he cut them off almost to a man. A body of Parasuram Bhao's troops were shortly afterwards treated in a similar manner, and Chitur Sing, having learnt that after Parasuram's departure from Satara two or three thousand of Rastia's troops with some guns were encamped in the neighbourhood of the fort, vowed to avenge the disgrace sustained by the first defeat. He accordingly led six hundred infantry through the hills and valleys until he came opposite to the village of Pal, where he remained concealed until nightfall, he then repaired to the celebrated temple and performed the usual forms of worship, and the whole party having solemnly invoked the aid of the deity, stained their

clothes with a yellow dye, rubbed their hands and faces with turmeric, issued forth thus fortified with the implied vow of conquest or death to attack their enemy. They did not find Rastia's troops unprepared, but they had only time to fire a few rounds when they were furiously charged by Chitur Sing, their guns taken and destroyed, and the whole body dispersed in a few minutes.

A rapid march to the banks of the Varna, before his retreat could be intercepted, marked a prudence as well as enterprise which gained Chitur Sing considerable credit with the Maratha soldiery, and his numbers were much increased in the course of a few months. At the head of a very inferior force and with no funds to support it, he kept seven thousand of Rastia's troops in perpetual motion between the Nira and Varna. He was, however, frequently beaten; and on one occasion, when accompanied by only five hundred men, he was surrounded by five thousand of Rastia's men, but managed to cut his way through them, although with a loss of more than half his party. His enterprise, his remarkable escapes, his conciliatory manners, the popularity of his cause amongst the Marathas, and his confidence in the peasantry, rendered him everywhere a favourite, notwithstanding his having repeatedly laid the whole of the villages under contribution.

Chitur Sing's insurrection was considered at Poona as a part of the Kolhapur war, and both the Peshwa and Nana Farnavis had their share of the blame arising therefrom.

During the insurrection of Satara and subsequent to it, whilst Chitur Sing kept Rastia in check to the

north of the Varna, the Raja of Kolhapur was actively engaged against the Patwardhans and Dhondupant Gokhale, Tasgaon, the capital of Parasuram Bhao's jaghir was pillaged, and his palace, which had been erected at great expense, was burnt to the ground. The Karnatak was laid under contribution and Dhondupant Gokhale, although a brave and active officer, was repeatedly defeated. Such was the state of the Kolhapur warfare up to the period at which we have arrived. In the month of August, after Baloba Taty'a's release and a reconciliation having taken place between him and Nana Farnavis, they deliberated, with the knowledge and approbation of their superiors, on the course of policy necessary to be pursued with regard to Nizam Ali and the English; but both concurred in the necessity of suppressing the formidable disturbance to the southward as a preliminary to any other arrangement. It was accordingly resolved that the force previously intended by Nana Farnavis to have co-operated with the allies against Tipu, should be sent under Parasuram Bhao, considerably reinforced, on the present service. The whole force, to be furnished in proportions by the Peshwa and by Sindia and other jaghirdars, was to consist of thirty thousand horse and six thousand infantry; but, as it was impracticable to prepare this force till the Dasara, Parasuram Bhao was desired to watch the Raja of Kolhapur and restrain him as much as possible. Parasuram Bhao, whose military spirit was on this occasion excited by personal injury and revenge, although his health was in a declining state, kept the field all through the rains, and recovered the garrisons between the rivers Gulprabha and Malprabha.

In the month of September he marched from Gokak towards Kolhapur, not without hopes of putting a finish to the war himself; but near the village of Patakundi he encountered the Raja of Kolhapur and Chitur Sing, when he experienced a total defeat and was himself mortally wounded and made prisoner. Visvasrao, the brother of Shirzirao Ghatge, took up the dying man, and, laying him across his horse, threw him down before the Raja of Kolhapur, who ordered him, it is said, in this state to be cut to pieces. Dajiba Limaye, who was in this action, states this circumstance; and Bajirao, in a private conversation with Mr. Elphinstone at Pandharpur in 1812, mentioned it as a well-known fact, but it is not generally allowed either at Kolhapur or Satara, although at these two places the Raja of Kolhapur has many enemies. Dajiba Limaye, whose name I have mentioned above, was a confidential agent of Parasuram Bhao; he was employed in several high situations during the administration of Nana Farnavis, and was a sharer in many of the revolutions and events which we are now recording; he wrote the history of his own times, which is very interesting.

Nana Farnavis and Baloba sent the troops of the Vinchurkar, the Pritinidhi and five of Sindia's regular battalions, under Major Brownrigg, to support Appa Sahib, Parasuram Bhao's son, and reduce the Raja to submission. This accession of force was too much for the Raja to withstand, and he therefore retired under the protection of the Fort of Panhala, but in that situation his troops were surprised by Appa Sahib, who drove some of them into the fort, whilst the greater part sought refuge in Kolhapur, which the

Peshwa's troops immediately invested; after a considerable time had been spent in the siege the place was nearly reduced when events occurred at Poona which interfered to save the Kolhapur State, which in all probability would otherwise have been subverted, or at least held in future a dependency on the Peshwa's government.

The first of the events alluded to in point of time, and in fact the only one of importance in this narrative, was the death of Nana Farnavis. His health had long been in a declining state, but he continued to transact business almost to the last with his accustomed order and punctuality. He died on the 13th March at Poona, 'and with him,' says Colonel Palmer, 'has departed all the wisdom and moderation of the Maratha Government.' Nana Farnavis was certainly a great statesman; his principal defects originated in the want of personal courage and in ambition not always restrained by principle. During the latter unhappy years of his life, on the testimony of both English and Maratha authority, he is entitled to the highest praise of having acted with the feelings and sincerity of a patriot. He honourably advised Bajirao to such measures as he believed advantageous, unmindful of any consequence to himself. He was decidedly averse to the admission of a body of foreign troops in the manner proposed by the Marquis of Wellesley, if the energies of the government could in any possible way be restored without it. He respected the English, admired their sincerity of character and the vigour of their government, but as political enemies no one regarded them with more jealousy and alarm. He had the wisdom to perceive the overpowering influence which the English must

eventually obtain should they be permitted the footing desired by the Governor-General.

The life of Nana may be said to have been entirely public, and its events have been so fully recorded as well as the motives for his conduct, that it is unnecessary to enlarge on his character. In private life he was a man of strict veracity, humane, charitable and frugal, his whole time was regulated with the strictest order, and the business personally transacted by him almost exceeds credibility.

In regard to civil government, whilst he continued in power he endeavoured to preserve the system of Madhavrao Balhal, but overwhelming business, and the frequent distractions which prevailed, produced great laxity in the superintendence.

No instance of greater neglect on the part of an administration, or of more extraordinary criminality in a subordinate officer, is recorded in the annals of any state than the case of Ghasiram Kotwal, or Police Superintendent of the city of Poona. This man, a Brahmin, a native of Hindustan, employed the power with which he had been entrusted in perpetrating the most dreadful murders. People disappeared and no trace of them could be found. Ghasiram was suspected, but Nana Farnavis refused to listen to the complaints as they appeared absurd from their unexampled atrocity. At last, it being suspected that Ghasiram was starving a respectable Brahmin to death, Manaji Phakde headed a party of the people, broke open the prison, and rescued the unfortunate Brahmin; this led to the detection and exposition of the monster's crimes. He was immediately seized by the enraged populace, by whom he was stoned to death.



In his person Nana was tall and thin, his complexion was rather dark and his demeanour gave his look intelligent, quick and penetrating, as perceived by reference to the annexed picture original of which is an exceedingly well picture in oils, preserved with great care at M. his family jaghir, by his widow, of whose imm history more will be subsequently added.

Nana died without issue, although he had married to no less than nine wives, for whose and those of their families see Appendix I.

At the time of Nana Farnavis's death, his was at a village called Sidar Tank, a distance of thirty miles from Poona. Bajirao, being anxious to secure possession both of the widow as well as of the treasure, which was generally reported to be in Poona, immediately sent a party of troops to bring her to Poona, and after considerable resistance from the part of about two thousand Arabs, whom Nana had in his service, in which many of the Peshwa's were slain, an arrangement was concluded by which the Arabs were allowed to proceed to Canara and Gujarat, while the widow remained in British custody until, on Jeswantrao's approach, she was compelled to fly from Poona. Holkar treated her with the greatest kindness and consideration : as he remained there, but on Amritrao's coming to Poona the widow did not feel herself secure from the ancient enmity towards Nana, she therefore took refuge to the fort of Jogarh, the Killadar of which, Dhondu Balhal, was a staunch dependent of the

<sup>1</sup> The picture referred to here by the author is not reproduced in the book ; it is, however, an excellent like

by him she was protected until the year 1814, when General Wellesley, who had been invested with full political powers for the affairs of the Deccan on the part of the Peshwa, made a treaty with Dhondu Balhal, by which the fort of Jogarh was to be evacuated, and Nana's widow to be allowed to settle wherever she wished in any part of the Peshwa's dominions, under the guarantee of the British Government and a pension of rupees twelve thousand annually conferred upon her. Dhondu Balhal was anxious that she should fix upon Kalal, opposite to Thana, in Salsette, as her place of residence, but an objection to this arrangement arose owing to the few Brahmin families resident there. Panwel was therefore the station fixed upon; she resided there for about a space of sixteen years, when she obtained permission to proceed to Manaoli, where she has resided ever since.

In the year 1827 permission was obtained from the English Government to adopt a son, which permission she had long sought to obtain from the Peshwa, who at first had pretended to accede to her request but had managed in various ways to delay giving his final consent. Her choice fell upon Mahadji Balhal, son of Ram Krishna Bhanu, whose present age is about thirty years. He was married in the year 1830 to Ramabai, daughter of Keshavrao Patwardhan, a jaghirdar of Purandar, with whom he received a dowry of twenty-five thousand rupees in cash and a village yielding an annual revenue of about one thousand rupees. She is still without issue.

Manaoli produces a revenue of about two thousand rupees annually. The widow is most anxious that her pension should descend to her adopted son, and peti-

tions to this effect are now before the authorities. At the period of the grant no provision appears to have been made that the pension should extend beyond the life of the widow herself.

Although Nana Farnavis during his lifetime was possessed of the following jaghirs, still the family are anxious to appear poor, and indeed do not keep up much state.

A jaghir given him by the Peshwa valued			
	annually at rupees	..	6,000
Do.	do. from Angria	..	2,000
Do.	do. from the Gaikwar	..	10,000
Do.	do. from Hyder Ali	..	10,000
Do.	do. from the Habshi	..	2,000
Do.	do. from Holkar	..	10,000
Do.	do. from Sindia	..	65,000
Do.	do. from the Sachiv of Bhor	..	2,000
Do.	do. from Parsasuran Bhao	..	
	Patwardhan	..	5,000
Do.	do. by the Pritinidhi of Kolhapur	1,000	
Do.	do. do. of Satara	10,000	
His Karkun business realized		..	40,000
Also from the Satara Mantri		..	2,000
Other jaghirs amounting to		..	50,000

The whole of which, the family declare, were taken and confiscated by Bajirao Peshwa.



THE MAP OF THE DECCAN



## APPENDIX I

### THE WIVES OF NANA FARNAVIS

NANA FARNAVIS was married no less than nine times.

The name of his first wife was Yeshodabai, the daughter of Sadashiv Raghunath Gadre, a respectable merchant of Poona; by this wife Nana had one son, who died when an infant.

The second wife was Lakshmibai, daughter of Dhanap, who held some government employment in the fort of Suvarnadurg; by her he had no children.

The third wife was Annapurnabai, daughter of Gadgil, a wealthy inhabitant of Wai; by her he had a daughter, who died in infancy.

The fourth wife was Radhabai, daughter of Bhide, a respectable savakar of Poona; by her he had no children.

The fifth wife was Anandibai, daughter of Vaidya, a karkun employed under the Peshwa's Government; by her he had no children.

The sixth wife was Yasodhabai, daughter of Pendse, a karkun of the Peshwa's Government; by her he had a daughter, who died young.

The seventh wife was Annapurnabai, daughter of Paranjpe, a karkun of Viziadurg; by her he had no children.

The eighth wife was Bhogabai, daughter of Sutar, a karkun of Ratnagiri; by her he had no children. She died at the early age of fourteen years, thirteen days after Nana's death.

The ninth wife was Jui Bai, a daughter of Gopal Bhat Vaishampayan, an inhabitant of Murud, in the Taluka of Suvarnadurg. She is represented as having been exceedingly beautiful. She had not reached the age of puberty when Nana died.

## APPENDIX II

### THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF NANA FARNAVIS

*An Autobiographical Memoir of the Early Life of Nana Farnavis.* Translated from the original Marathi, by Lieutenant-

Colonel John Briggs, M.R.A.S., late Resident at the Court of Satara.

This piece of biography may truly be considered one of the most remarkable productions of Oriental literature.

Nana Farnavis became, at a very early period, the bosom friend of his sovereign, Madhavrao, entitled the Great. This young prince succeeded his father in the year 1761, shortly after the fatal battle of Panipat, which seemed to threaten the downfall of the Maratha power in Hindustan. He was then only in his seventeenth year, and Nana but nineteen. The latter had been hitherto brought up to the study of the Vedas and Shastras, but had as yet engaged little in the duties of a public office, which his father had filled till Nana was fifteen, and which was now occupied by his uncle, Baburao. The office to which I have alluded was hereditary, and had been held for three generations by Nana's family. It was that of *Farnavis* or *Fard-navis* (literally, record-writer), but its duty was more especially to keep the accounts of the Peshwa's public receipts and disbursements. A situation, which brought those who filled it so constantly in contact with the Peshwa, was favourable to the development of those qualities which the youthful prince Madhavrao discovered in his juvenile secretary. An attachment grew up between them, terminating only in the Peshwa's death, an event which occurred in 1774, at the early age of twenty-eight.

The part which Nana Farnavis took in the Poona government subsequent to that period rendered him the chief director of all its political movements, till the death of Madhavrao the Second, which happened in 1797. From that period he was engaged in contending with the late Peshwa, Bajirao, for that authority which he was unwilling to relinquish, but which he failed to attain. In March, 1800, Nana Farnavis died, after having retired from public business, leaving behind him the reputation of being one of the greatest men of his time and country.

Accidentally placed in communication with many of his contemporaries, and interested in obtaining every information regarding this celebrated personage, I procured several narratives of the events which occurred under the eyes of some of my native friends, to be written for me by them; and in the course

of my inquiries I was enabled to gain access to his private papers, to the number of nine thousand. Among these were several hundred written in Nana's own hand, which cannot easily be mistaken. After many copious selections of the most interesting, I translated many of these documents and brought them with me to this country.

In the course of these investigations a confidential clerk of the family brought me the curious relic, the translation of which is presented to the Society. The paper in question is a life of Nana in his own handwriting, commencing with his birth, and coming down only to the period when his patron, Madhav Rao the Great, ascended the throne, and when Nana was himself only nineteen years of age.

Nana's official career is a subject of public record and history, but his private life at any stage must naturally excite the utmost interest. That he should have written his life at all is certainly a very remarkable circumstance; but the identity of his handwriting, which I took pains not only to scrutinise myself, as far as I was able, but which I submitted to the inspection and examination of a vast number of disinterested persons, was never for a moment doubted by them.

Having endeavoured to establish this fact, I shall proceed at once to the translation, which begins thus:

'Let me consider what is the semblance of the face of God. It is the emblem of truth, full of animation, and resplendent with its own effulgence. God passes his existence in watchfulness, in sleep, and in contemplation. His watchfulness is apparent throughout all animated nature; his contemplation is displayed in the light of day; his sleep is typified in the stillness of night. He, to whom we attribute these qualities, is THE ONLY ONE—THE SPIRIT.

'It is he who, in the plenitude of his power, displays himself in everything. He is everywhere present at the same moment, moving without feet, seeing without eyes, touching without hands, hearing without ears, pervading all space.

'If it be asked from what are we to conclude the Great Spirit pervades all space, and that it is a single and sole spirit I reply that we derive this knowledge from the conviction of our reason, and from an innate consciousness arising out of sympathy



Thus how often does it occur, when men assemble, though sitting at a distance from each other, that they communicate their thoughts by a look or a gesture, just as a mirror reflects an image.

' Now it is evident that if the spirit in those bodies were not the same and identified, this union of sentiment could not occur.

' The soul of man partakes of the nature of the spirit of God, and to every human being is allotted a portion of its glory : but, regardless and unmindful of this truth, man relinquishes the contemplation of the greatness of God, and pursues what he considers the apparent advantage which presents itself to him in this world of misery. Such, however, is consistent with human nature. It is *maya* [illusion or desire] with which he is filled, and which prompts him to action. *Maya* can neither be considered substantial, nor positively illusory, no more than the face of God can be seen or accurately described. *Maya* influences the conduct of man in three ways—it leads him sometimes to do good, sometimes to be selfish, and sometimes to be vicious ; but its prevailing tendency is to engender pride. The spirit produced the firmament of heaven, after which air, light, water and earth were made. These five elements we designate by the term "*Mahabhuta*".

' In the midst of these is seated the soul, endued with reason, and surrounded by the five "*Mahabhutas*", or elements. The soul is eternal ; it is unconnected with the perishable body wherein it is placed, but from which it is distinct. The human frame is material ; it is compounded of the five elements, and is thus rendered capable of partaking of worldly pleasure and of pain. It is calculated merely to receive sensual impressions. It is begotten in shame ; it is engendered, and becomes matured in labour ; and is liable to destruction, even before it is brought into existence. It is condemned to a mortification of nine months in the womb, is eventually born in pain, and enters a world full of misery and affliction. For a lengthened period it is incapable of assisting itself, or of asking relief ; but, gradually acquiring size by imbibing aliment, the bones and the muscles acquire strength, the blood is nourished, and in the end the infant-form assumes the shape of man.

'Of such materials, then, am I formed. Born in the depths of ignorance, and involved in utter darkness, but, owing to certain advantages acquired in some former state, I was early disposed to worship the Deity. This tendency displayed itself when I was yet a child, at which time I was in the habit of forming lumps of clay into the shapes which are commonly put up in the temples, and with which I used to play and perform the sacrificial rites. Not content with these, I often stole the household images of the family, and carried them away to some secret place, where I might go through the forms of our religious ceremonies undisturbed. For these petty thefts I frequently suffered punishment at my mother's hands. Both my parents were extremely desirous that I should early acquire knowledge, and did not fail to urge me to study; but my own stubbornness provoked me to resist their advice, and to be sulky whenever spoken to on the subject; so much so, that I always wished some evil might happen to them.

'I was not contracted in marriage till I was ten years of age [1752]; and at the age of eleven or twelve I began to feel the influence of the passions: which, together with the bad society into which I accidentally fell at this period, gave me vicious propensities. About this time I fell accidentally from my horse, and was insensible for two days; but, by the intervention of Providence, I recovered.

'My father died when I had attained my fifteenth year [1757], and God permitted me to be present to perform his funeral obsequies. After which, perceiving His Highness the Peshwa disposed to be kind to me, from his treating me as his own child I accompanied him to the field of battle, and went as far as Seringapatam. After my return my marriage was consummated. I found, however, my propensity to the society of loose females extremely difficult to control; and I always reflected with shame and remorse on my own conduct, when I remembered that my worthy grandfather was a man as celebrated for his morality and virtue as for his charity and religion, and that all my father's relatives were highly pious men. With these reflections I made up my mind to believe that I derived my evil propensities from

<sup>1</sup> On Friday, 24th February, 1742, at 10 o'clock p.m.

my mother's side, but this did not correct the fault of my inclination.

'I, however, resolved to go to Toka on the G. Gavery, and, by a strict attention to devotion and to the service of the temple, obtain grace to overcome my evil dispositions. I remained there for some time, till at length BHAO SAHIB [the Ashwa's cousin] marched with an army into Hindustan [October 2, 1750]. I accompanied him, taking with me my mother and my wife, for the purpose principally of making pilgrimages to the holy cities of Benares, Prayaga [Allahabad], and Gaya, and of becoming purified in the waters of the Ganges. As my father was at this period afflicted with a disease which reduced my strength and animal spirits, I found my mind more composed and fitted for devotion than when I was in rude health. My whole life and soul were now wrapt up in veneration for religion and respect for my mother, who greatly encouraged my religious feelings.

'After crossing the Nerbada I fell sick, and was afflicted with dysentery to such a degree that I could not rise. His Highness BHAO SAHIB, out of his great consideration, ordered the army to halt for some days till I got better. We reached the Chambai at the period of an eclipse, and eventually arrived on the Jumna at the Gow Ghaut. We then proceeded to Mathura, where, having performed the religious ceremonies enjoined at the temples, we went to Vrindavana [Bindrabun]. Here I bathed in the very pool where the divine KRISHNA crushed the serpent Kaliya. We also saw the remains of the very *kudamba* tree [*Naucllea Orientalis*], in which the god concealed himself after having stolen away the clothes of the shepherdesses who were bathing in the holy stream. At Bindrabun we visited the several temples of Atala-Behari, Kunja-Behari, Bansi-Behari, Radha-Kishor, and Govind-ji—all dedicated to the god KRISHNA in his various shapes. I also assisted for some time in performing the duties of the temple of Kunja-Behari. I visited the tree of Radha [where KRISHNA assisted to dress his mistress], as also the *vamsi* tree, under which he used to recline and play on his pipe. I likewise visited the Seva-Bana and Kunja-Bana, two groves where the god used to retire. The trees of the latter are rather low in stature; but they are very thickly studded with branches and leaves, affording a permanent shade. The grove abounds in

trees of all kinds ; but those whose nature it is to have thorns in other places here have none. I was much delighted in these groves, and could fancy them still the retired abode of some divinity.

‘I also went and rolled in the *Ramana Reti* [‘the sporting sand,’ i.e. soft sand-hills in the bed of the Jumna], which still remain as in the time of the god.

‘One afternoon I paid a visit to the holy persons who reside at the spot called Dnyana-Gujri, with whom I was much pleased; and before dark I performed *sandhya* [prayers] and ablutions at the Dhira Sumira banks [so called from the gentle and cool breezes which blow there in the evening across the waters] of the Jumna. This ceremony I continued for four days; and I felt that all the members of my body, and my senses which had partaken of my devotions, were sanctified by the performance. While at Bindrabun I could not help feeling a veneration for everything I saw; and even the holy men who sat in the Kunja-Bana at different places, subsisting either wholly by drinking water or merely eating leaves and grass, inspired me at once with a sensation of respect and pleasure. One of these devotees, calling me to him, whispered a moral sentence into my ear, which he desired me to repeat frequently every day, and to act up to it. From Bindrabun I went to Delhi, where, according to His Highness’s orders, I paid my respects to [PRIT’HIVI PATI] the “King of the Earth”, who received me with great affability, and presented me with robes of honour. On the same day, while sitting with His Highness, the sensation of an earthquake was experienced. During my residence at Delhi I purchased a number of pictures,<sup>1</sup> taking care to make a selection free from all immodest and indecent representation.

‘At this period information was received that in the north an army of Yavanas [Mahomedans], consisting of 75,000 men, had arrived on the west bank of the Jumna; but, owing to the river being full from bank to bank, both armies<sup>2</sup> remained separated. His Highness, however, marched and occupied Kunj-

<sup>1</sup> He preserved this taste for paintings through life.

<sup>2</sup> The army of the Peshwa and that of the Mahomedans.

pura, in spite of the enemy's efforts to prevent him. I accompanied the division which attacked, and God spared my life. The Mahomedans now forced the passage of the river, and were opposed by His Highness. I was a mere boy : and His Highness, though sufficiently wise on all other occasions, seems on this to have lost his usual wisdom. My maternal uncle, BALVANTRAO, and NANA PURANDARE, His Highness's natural advisers, were set aside, and BHAWANI SANKAR and SHAH NAWAZ KHAN became favourite counsellors ; in consequence of which he abandoned our system of warfare, and adopted that of the enemy. We were surrounded, and the enemy's shot fell thickly among our tents daily. My mother and wife screamed with alarm, but I endeavoured to console them by desiring them to trust in God. At length my mother's brother<sup>1</sup> was killed, and had it not been for the approach of darkness we should all have been destroyed on that night. Thus we remained in a state of siege for two months, during which most of the cattle of the army died, and the stench was dreadful. My aunt insisted on burning with her husband's body. Previously to the last fatal action, His Highness had determined to destroy all the females of his family rather than suffer them to fall into the hands of the enemy, and I took the same resolution. We both left persons with them to perform the dreadful office in case of defeat. The battle at length commenced.<sup>2</sup> His Highness, though wise, valiant and experienced, had latterly become proud and arrogant ; and although the arrangement for the action was good, yet he did not attend to it himself, nor did others. Confusion prevailed in every direction. I remained close to His Highness, but was able to do nothing, except to pray to God to save us. VISVASRAO<sup>3</sup> fell by a cannon-shot, when His Highness, taking him up on his elephant, stood fast. The Afghans dismounted from their horses, and stormed the camp on all sides. The battle was now brought to cuts and slashes. In this state of affairs the great officers of the left wing shewed the example of flight. On the right, SINDIA and HOLKAR stood aloof, and at last

<sup>1</sup> Balvantrao Krishna Mehendale.

<sup>2</sup> January 15, 1761.

<sup>3</sup> Visvasrao, the eldest and favourite son of the Peshwa, accompanied his uncle, Bhao Saheb, in this campaign.

the royal standard was seen to retreat. Around His Highness there were now only about two hundred men left, and he looked stupefied, as if unable to see what passed about him. BAPUJIPANT told me to go to the rear; I replied, "I cannot quit His Highness at such a moment"; but God prompted me soon after to follow his advice. I turned my horse's head. Of one hundred thousand men, among whom were many great officers of distinction, not one stood by His Highness at such a moment, though I had heard them repeatedly swear in the time of peace, that, rather than a hair of his head should be touched, they would each sacrifice a thousand lives if they had them; so that they turned out to be the mere companions of his prosperity, and deserters in the hour of adversity.

'When I consider how he conciliated his chiefs with blandishments, what honours, presents and estates he had conferred on them, and how he had exerted himself to win their affections, it is matter of surprise to reflect that in the moment of trial he should have been so completely abandoned, that no one knew how he fell or what became of that person who so lately was the object of such great veneration.

'The rout became general, and I reached Panipat just as the sun set in the heavens. Here was I, a stranger, without knowing an inch of my road, when Providence sent me a guide in the person of RAMAJIPANT, who advised me to abandon my horse and strip off my clothes, which I did, and we set off during the night. Before I had gone three miles I was examined by half a dozen bands of the cap-wearers, and they seldom failed to kill or wound ten or twelve of our party. That I escaped is only to be ascribed to the providence of God. Both RAMAJIPANT and BAPUJIPANT stayed close to me, and before daylight we had gained ten coss<sup>1</sup> to the westward. Here we fell in with a body of the enemy, who wounded both my friends, RAMAJIPANT and BAPUJIPANT, very seriously; not one was spared, with the exception of me alone, who contrived to hide myself in some long grass, when God preserved me. I was thus compelled to proceed alone. I wandered two coss farther, when more of the enemy came in sight. I had recourse again to the long grass;

<sup>1</sup> About twenty miles.

but they discovered and dragged me forth, when an old man of the party said, "He is but a boy, let him go"; and they were thus induced to spare me. I had been ill before the battle, and had eaten little food for many days; but the dangers I had lately incurred seemed to have roused me, and I walked even without food nearly fifteen coss on the second day. At length, finding myself very hungry, I endeavoured to eat some leaves of the *bel* tree,<sup>1</sup> but could not swallow them. I went on, till at last I reached the outside of a village just as the day closed. A *baragi* [holy mendicant] went and brought me some flour, which I made up into a cake and ate. I never tasted so delicious a morsel, it was sweet as the nectar of heaven. I slept there during the night, and in the morning continued my journey, repeating some prayers and calling on the name of God. During the day I reached another village, and was hospitably received by a banker. I was recognised also by YESWANTRAO, a *karkun* [clerk] in the riding-school department. Here YESWANTRAO and I both took our meal together; but we were roused by information of the enemy's horse having penetrated into the town. The banker offered to hire a carriage for us, and to send us to Jayanagar; we gladly accepted his proposal, and set off on our journey. At length it occurred to me that the carriage would certainly attract the attention of the enemy's horse if they were in the neighbourhood, so I resolved to quit it and go on foot. Our party now consisted of three or four Brahmins and five or six Marathas; and we went on without molestation for seven days, begging our way, and depending on Providence for every meal we ate, till at last we reached Rewari. We found that a great part of the army had already fled by this route. At this place one BALORAO had been very particular in his inquiries regarding me, as I understood from a number of people I recognised in the town. As I knew nothing of this person, and could not conceive what his intentions were, I was averse to discovering myself, but at length I made myself known to him. He took me instantly to his house, and treated me and all my party with great kindness and hospitality; he then furnished me with some clothes; and on

<sup>1</sup> The fruit resembles an olive in appearance, but in taste is not unlike an apple. It is the *zizyphus jujube*.

its being made known who I was to RAMJI DAS JOSHI, a merchant of the place, he came and begged of me to occupy a part of his house. Here I was entertained with great attention for seven days. My wish now was to proceed to Dig and Bhartpur, but it was requisite to have an escort. At length a wedding-party was going in that direction; and, hiring a carriage, I accompanied it. On the road I was met by KRISHNA BHATT VAIDYA, who told me that VIRAJI BHAWADIKAR had saved my wife, and having taken care of her had left her in the house of NARUPANT GOKHALE, in the village of Jigny, where they had procured for her clothes and all that she required. I accordingly went to Jigny, and was much delighted to find my wife again, for whom I now hired another carriage, and we proceeded to Dig, where PURUSHOTTAM MAHADFO [HINGNE]<sup>1</sup> had come from the field of Panipat, and was living in the house of a *gumasta* [agent], of Wanavle, who had a banking office in that town. The moment the agent heard of my arrival he insisted on our going to put up with him, where I remained with my wife for a full month. I found my appetite had increased from my exertions greatly, and there was neither want of clothes nor of good food in abundance. I made every inquiry for my poor mother, but all that I could ever hear of her was from one of my own *khidmutgars* [domestics], who said he saw her cut down while sitting on her horse, and believed that she died instantly. This is the only account I ever obtained of her fate. Having now supplied ourselves with horses and a *palki* [palanquin], I went by the route of Dhowlpore to Gwalior. Here the bulk of the army that survived the action had arrived before me. Among others were PARVATIBAI,<sup>2</sup> NANA PURANDARE, MALHARJI HOLKAR, and several others. My own urgent wish at this time was to retire and to reside permanently at Benares, having had ample experience of the delights of a public life; but it is vain to oppose the decrees of fate, and I was prevailed on in the first place to revisit home,<sup>3</sup> to perform the obsequies for my mother among our relations, and then to act according to circumstances. I began to reflect what might happen to me if I went to Benares and left all those I was

<sup>1</sup> Then, and for many years afterwards, the Delhi newswriter of Poona.

<sup>2</sup> Bhao Sahib's wife.

<sup>3</sup> Desh.



acquainted with ; so I quitted Gwalior and marched south with the army.

‘ I heard that when His Highness NANA SAHIB<sup>1</sup> received the news of the battle of Panipat, he asked GURUJI, the family priest, particularly about me, and said, “ He is a poor sickly creature, how will he ever survive, even if he is not killed by the enemy ? ” But, by the grace and blessings of Providence, I was preserved through all these dangers and difficulties. At Berhampur I had the happiness to see NANA SAHIB ; but I found him sadly afflicted, and his frame much reduced. Indeed, his intellect seemed affected sometimes ; and, contrary to custom, he was in the habit of abusing grossly the military chiefs. To me, however, even at these moments, he was extremely kind and seemed anxious to know from my mouth every particular relating to the battle. NARAYANRAO<sup>2</sup> having caught the smallpox in Malwa, he was left with GOPIKABAI<sup>3</sup> on the Nerbada, to follow after NANA SAHIB to the Deccan on his return. Moreover, some disagreement had lately taken place between them.<sup>4</sup> Thus it is that when people act contrary to the manner of the times, untoward circumstances will necessarily arise out of them. Seeing that affairs did not wear a pleasing aspect at court, I asked permission to go at once to my temple at Toka, where I again took up my former residence. His Highness arrived some time afterwards, when I paid him my respects. I was much in want of a *saligrama*,<sup>5</sup> and ventured to ask His Highness if he could spare me one. He replied with the utmost kindness, “ Go into my tent and take your choice from amongst all I have ”. I accordingly selected one. The next day was a fast with me ;<sup>6</sup> and as it happened to be the anniversary of

<sup>1</sup> The Peshwa.

<sup>2</sup> The Peshwa's second son, a boy of six or seven years of age.

<sup>3</sup> The Peshwa's first wife.

<sup>4</sup> In this year Nana Sahib had married another wife, a Deshast, at Paithan, which gave Gopikabai great offence.

<sup>5</sup> A particular kind of black stone, believed to symbolise the god Vishnu, used in religious ceremonies, containing one or more ammonites.

<sup>6</sup> *Pradosha*, generally the 12th or 13th day in each fortnight when a fast is observed during the day in honour of god Siva ; and after worshipping the god, the fast is duly broken, like the 11th or Ekadashi of the Vaishnavites, in the evening.

BAJIRAO SAHIB's death,<sup>1</sup> I was sent for to dine with him. I was obliged to excuse myself on the score of its being my last day. His Highness, however, insisted on my going; I spoke to the domestic priest about it, but I found I should give offence if I stayed away. When the dinner was brought in the Peshwa made His Highness MADHARAO sit on one side, and me on the other, close to him; and while the females were putting down the dishes under his new wife's superintendence, he constantly corrected her in their arrangement; and during dinner he caused her to help me to some dishes, as if I were one of the family.<sup>2</sup>

'On his leaving Toka I begged permission to remain behind for some time, till my mind had recovered its composure from the scenes which I had lately witnessed, and the afflictions I had endured; to which he gave his consent. His Highness went on to Poona; but his mind was evidently suffering severely, till at length, just before his death, I received a summons to repair quickly to Poona; and I had actually set off and gone as far as Pernere, where I received the news of his death.'

'I had received a letter from His Highness DADA SAHIB, telling me by all means to come immediately; and I at last arrived at Poona. I was much afflicted at the news of His Highness' death, which took place at the Parvati;<sup>3</sup> but I was very graciously received by His Highness DADA SAHIB, who shortly after<sup>4</sup> took his Highness MADHAVRAO SAHIB to Satara to receive the clothes of investiture, and ordered me to go with him. He was very anxious also for me to accompany them when the Raja gave the clothes; but I begged to be excused, saying His Highness was my immediate sovereign, and I did not wish to be introduced to the Raja.

<sup>1</sup> 10th May.

<sup>2</sup> 'Made his second wife serve us the dinner; and thus gave her a sort of training in the art of serving. This, in my case, amounted to a child being fed by his dear loving mother.'

<sup>3</sup> But his health [body] had already become exceedingly weak during the course of the journey. So, shortly after His Highness reached Poona. I received letters saying, "The final moment is imminent; come quick". I too, reflected that I ought to be near His Highness in his last moment, since I was indebted to him for my very body, which was solely reared up on his support and nurture.'

<sup>4</sup> 24th June, 1761.

<sup>5</sup> 21st July, 1761.

'After his investiture, MADHAVRAO SAHIB having had his audience of leave, we started on our way home and returned to Poona.

'On the road, one day, an infantry soldier seized a young woman in a field and threw her down, with the intention of committing a rape; one of the troopers on duty,<sup>1</sup> observing it, galloped up and pierced him to the heart with his spear. Thus I had before me an example of the consequences of indulgence in the passions.

'On the next day His Highness crossed the Nira, but I remained that day at Sirioul; and, owing to the swelling of the river, I was obliged to go in a boat: but the force of the current carried us down the stream. The boatmen declared they could do nothing; and we had come close to some rocks, and must have been dashed to pieces in a few minutes. I called on God to assist us; when two of the boatmen had the boldness to leap overboard and, gaining the bank, were able to drag the boat to the shore, by which means we were all preserved.

'This providential circumstance was brought about through the grace and intervention of VISHNU the Preserver.

'I then went on to Poona, and was shortly after called on by His Highness to resume the functions of my office as *Farnavis*.'

Having finished this remarkable narrative, it seems incumbent on me to make some observations on its character. No one can doubt, who has attended to the beautiful introduction of this piece of biography, that its author had very sublime ideas of the nature of the Deity, whom he represents as 'THE ONLY ONE—THE SPIRIT', who pervades all space, being everywhere present at the same moment, and omnipotent. This is, in fact, the true and original basis of the Hindu religion, though, like others which profess a belief in one God, it has in the course of time dwindled into the grossest idolatry. Polytheism received its first shape when the attributes of the 'ONLY ONE' became personified in his character of Creator, Preserver, and Destroyer; and mankind conceived that in worshipping symbols of his power in these

<sup>1</sup> On the occasion of the march of troops through the country, it is usual to post safeguards to protect the persons and property of the inhabitants; and it is concluded that the trooper, meeting with resistance from the foot-soldier, felt himself authorised to act as he did.

several capacities, they were likely the more readily to attain the objects of their prayers. In order, therefore, to propitiate the Deity in his character, either of MAHA DEVA,<sup>1</sup> VISHNU, or SIVA, the people made vows to render offerings to their temples in cases of success. In order to confer additional sanctity on these proceedings, priests became requisite, and idols were manufactured at their suggestion, representing the pure divinity in a fanciful personification. The transition from the worship of material resemblances of a divinity to that of ornament and worthy princes, who had gained the hearts of their subjects, was simple, and accorded with the wishes of the people. So that after the death of their heroes, we may easily imagine how natural it was for the Hindus to place RAMA, LAKSHMAN, HANU MAN, and KRISHNA (no doubt once real characters) among the number of their gods. It is thus, therefore, I think, we may account for the existence of the Hindu Pantheon of the present day. That some respect for the character of these demi-gods prevails, even among the better classes of the Hindu nation at this moment, cannot be denied; but that learned Brahmins and men well-informed, who are otherwise intelligent, worship them with any degree of faith, may very fairly be doubted; while it would appear that NANA FARNAVIS had no such faith, even when a boy. The whole tenor of the manuscript I have translated proves that the belief in which he had been brought up taught him to place his whole reliance on the 'ONLY ONE'. It is on him he was accustomed to call in the hour of danger and on the day of battle, when all hope was lost. It was in him that he placed his whole trust and confidence, when unarmed he fell into the hands of the sanguinary and relentless enemy. It was on him he called when, tossed by the waters, the vessel was almost sure of being dashed against the rocks; and it was to him, in his character of VISHNU the Preserver, that he offered up his thanks and devotions when he was almost miraculously snatched from the perils by which he was surrounded.

The exalted and pure notions that NANA FARNAVIS entertained of the Creator are strongly contrasted with his notions of

<sup>1</sup> The author is here inaccurate. The names of the Hindu Trinity are Brahma Deva, Vishnu, and Siva.

the abject condition of the creature. He describes man as a being compounded of perishable materials, and who in his animal capacity is only capable of partaking of worldly pleasure and pain, but whose frame is filled with a portion of the divine spirit, which, being separate from the body, animates it without partaking of its mortality. A being so formed, he observes, is the sport of *Maya*, or illusion, which urges him to follow the dictates of passion rather than submit to the control of reason. It is a consciousness of this imbecility that induces him to confess, with shame and remorse, at how early a period he felt the influence of those evil tendencies which he was unable to control; and he states his determination to go to some holy spot in order to destroy his bad propensities, and acquire a disposition to rivet his affections in contemplating the Deity.

It was with this intention he withdrew from the world, at the early age of seventeen, to Toka, on the Godavari, and, in prosecution of the same object, that he accompanied the army to the north in order to obtain an opportunity of visiting the classic ground of the demi-god KRISHNA. There is a simplicity and a strain of elegance pervading this part of his history which is singularly beautiful. He visits every spot described in the legend of the tenth canto of the *Bhagavat* (in which is to be found the history of KRISHNA) with a fervour very uncommon in persons of his age. The reflections he makes on every object he sees, and the fancied renovation of health and spirits in the abode of the deity, together with the pious enthusiasm he devotes to the performance of every part of his pilgrimage, are more calculated to convey to one's mind the fervent zeal of one of the ancients visiting the ruins of Athens or Thebes, than the picture of a Hindu, to whom we are not disposed to allow the possession of the quality of taste which pervades the whole of NANA's narrative of this holy journey.

From this task he is hurried into the field of battle, where his feelings evidently partake more of the man of sentiment than of the hero; and we cannot but admire the beautiful apostrophe the Brahmin boy makes on the vain reliance to be placed on the fidelity of courtiers or princes, who had so often pledged themselves to die with their leader, but who so abandoned him

on the day of trial that it was never known how or where he fell. The dangers which attended NANA FARNAVIS personally when he fled from the field of battle, and the manner in which he escaped, are well described; and, without being intended to produce effect (for scarcely any person knew of this little piece of autobiography before it fell into my hands), afford us a simple but lively representation of the scene, as well as of the domestic habits and customs of his countrymen.

In conclusion, I trust that this small specimen of the talents of NANA FARNAVIS will excite considerable curiosity; and I cannot help thinking that an account of his private life, which I contemplate publishing, will prove an interesting and valuable work.



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